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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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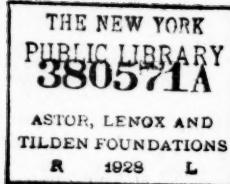
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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1927.

## PROSODY AND METHOD.

IN a paper on the application of thought to textual criticism which I read before the Classical Association at Cambridge in 1921 (*Proceedings* vol. XVIII pp. 67-84) I made some remarks which I abbreviate as follows :

'One of the forms assumed by thoughtlessness in textual criticism is the endeavour, now frequent especially among Continental scholars, to break down accepted rules of grammar or metre by the mere enumeration of exceptions found in MSS. That can never break down a rule: number is nothing; what matters is weight, and weight can only be ascertained by scrutiny. If I had noted every example I have met, I should now have a large collection of passages where *orbis*, which our grammars and dictionaries declare to be masculine, has a feminine adjective attached to it. But I do not therefore propose to revise that rule of syntax; for scrutiny would show that these examples, though numerous, have no force. In most of them the context proves that *orbem*, *orbis*, *orbes*, etc., are merely corruptions of the corresponding case and number of *urbs*; and in the rest it is natural to suppose that the scribe has been influenced and confused by the likeness of the one word to the other.'

I then pursued the subject in the field of grammar, and examined, with particular reference to Mr Rothstein's note on Prop. I 3 17, the alleged examples of the Latin pluperfect with a perfect sense (*excederant ἐκπεπτώκασι*). I shall now turn to prosody, and examine certain attempts made in this century to upset rules established in elder times; attempts to supersede wide and orderly inductions by eager and short-sighted clutching at any and every exception which our MSS may present, or may falsely be reported as presenting.

MSS present exceptions to every rule; a rule to which they presented no exception would be no rule, but something too vague to be worth formulating. But it is not every rule that these reactionaries try to upset. If they did, I could respect them; they would at least be consistent, and they might profess a principle, if only a false one. But their attempts are sporadic and capricious and bewray their origin; they spring from prepossessions and from whim. In these circumstances we know what to expect: fresh and superfluous proof of the weakness of man's reason and the strength of his passions; 'mens bona ducetur manibus post terga retortis | et pudor et castris quidquid amoris obest.' The investigator equips himself with blinkers, permitting him to see nothing but the mere examples, and excluding all surrounding objects and all illumination from without.

## I.

Jerome at *Isaiah viii 27* cites a verse, 'quo fugis, Encelade? quascumque accesseris oras,' which Heinsius and others have referred to the lost end of Claudian's Latin *gigantomachia*. This, said Mr Birt on p. ccxi of his Claudian, no sober man will dare to do: 'neque illud *Encelade* producta ultima . . . quisquam sobrius ad Claudianum referre audebit.' But that was in 1892, since which date Mr Birt has had occasion to cry 'quo me, Bacche, rapis tui plenum?' In 1910, uelox mente noua, at *Verg. catal.* 9 60, and in 1913, on p. 72 of his *Kritik und Hermenentik*, he attributes, not indeed this verse to Claudian, but similar lengthenings of short final vowels at caesuras to better poets and stricter versifiers. He is not the first to do so: examples from MSS had been cited long before by Gifanius *Lucr.* p. 299 and Cortius at *Luc. II 272*; and some examples are cited legitimately and constitute prima facie evidence to support the case. But Mr Birt has gone out into the highways and hedges and mustered as ragged a regiment as ever marched through Coventry; and the mad fellow who met Falstaff on the way and told him he had unloaded all the gibbets and pressed the dead bodies might say much the same to Mr Birt. Here is his roll-call:

- Enn. *ann.* III (Prob. *Verg. buc. VI 31*): et densis *aquila* pennis obnixa uolabat.  
*carm. epigr. Buech.* 331 3: de incerto *certā* ne fiant si sapis caueas.  
*carm. epigr. Buech.* 331 4: de uero *falsā* ne fiant iudice falso.  
*epigr. Plaut. ap. Gell. I 24 3*: scaena est *deserta*, dein risus ludus iocusque.  
*catalept. 9 60*: Cynthius et *Musa*, Bacchus et Aglaie (BH, *Musae AR*).  
*Verg. Aen. III 464*: dona dehinc auro *grauia* sectoque elephanto.  
*Verg. Aen. XII 648*: sancta ad uos *animā* | atque istius inscia culpae.  
*Prop. II 13 25*: sat mea sit *magnā* si tres sint pompa libelli.  
*Prop. II 29 39*: dixit et *oppositā* propellens sauvia nostra.  
*Prop. IV 5 64*: per tenues *ossā* sunt numerata cutes.  
*Tib. I 7 61*: te canit *agricolā* magna cum uenerit urbe.  
*Ouid. amor. III 7 55*: sed puto non *blanda*, non optima perdidit in me.  
*ciris 189*: credere quam tanto *scelerē* damnare puellam.  
*el. in Mae. I 139*: Nestoris *annosā* uicisses saecula, si me.  
*Aetn. 6*: seu tibi *Dodonā* potior, tecumque fauentes.  
*Mart. spect. 28 10*: diues *Caesareā* praestitit unda tibi.  
*Iuu. X 54*: ergo *superuacuā* | aut perniciosa petuntur.  
*Maxim. el. I 95*: nigra *superciliā*, frons libera, lumina clara.  
(*Prop. III 11 46*: iura *dare* statuas inter et arma Mari.)

The last example hides shyly between brackets, because Mr Birt is conscious that everyone else who accepts the reading will attribute the lengthening to the following *st*; so I say no more about it. But before going further I will present Mr Birt with a draft of recruits, all of whom have passed a medical examination much more rigorous than his own.

- Verg. Aen. I 501*: fert umero gradiensque *deā* super eminent omnes  
(MPR, *deas F*).  
*Tib. IV 6 19*: sis iuueni *gratā*, ueniet cum proximus annus.

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Prop. IV 1 101 : Iunonis *facitē* uotum inpetrabile, dixi.  
 Aem. Mac. ap. Isid. orig. XII 4 24: seu *terrā* fumat qua taeter labitur  
 anguis.  
 Manil. IV 478: et sexta et *decumā* | et quae ter quinta notatur.

These five examples<sup>1</sup> are all legitimate, because nothing can be alleged against them except the violation of that metrical rule which is itself in question: they contain no fault of sense or grammar, and critics have assailed and altered them purely for their prosody. And some of Mr Birt's examples are no less legitimate. Such, needless to say, are the three which he has borrowed from Lachmann's note on *Lucr.* II 27,—*ENN. ann. III aquilā*, *Verg. Aen. III 464 grauiā*, *XII 648 animā*. Such too is the verse from the so-called 'epigramma Plauti' in *Gell. I 24 3* with its *desertā*, and such are *Tib. I 7 61 agricolā*, *Prop. II 13 25 magnā, ciris 189 scelerē*, and even, at first sight, *Ouid. amor. III 7 55 blandā*. To these I will return; but I now go on to examine the rest.

No, not to examine all; for some are to be dismissed without examination. Mr Birt actually cites inscriptions, and pulls from the sortes of *carm. epigr. 331* such a mock hexameter as 'de incerto certa ne fiant si sapis caueas.' Inscriptions are a garden of illiteracy where anyone who relishes violations of metre or accidence or syntax may fill his hands with nosegays of all the horrors dearest to his heart; they will lengthen any short syllable to please Mr Birt and shorten any long syllable to please Mr Lindsay; in *carm. 422*, apparently no later than Hadrian, Mr Birt might have found within the compass of 19 lines no fewer than 6 lengthenings of final short *a*, *saeuā*, *magnā*, *sacrā*, *inmensā turbā*, *omnigenā*.

Then he plunges down to the sixth century and dredges up what he supposes to be an example from Maximianus. He need not have dived quite so deep, for on p. 395 of Mueller's *de r. m. ed. 2* he might have found 'discē conponere' and 'labor et *curā* mea sunt' from Ausonius and 'resignassē sursum' and 'arguerē iam' from Prudentius. But Maximianus' 'supercilīā frons' is not an example; it is no more an example than the '*populeā frus*' which he does not cite from Ennius or the '*seruarē frustra*' which he does not cite from Tibullus. Lengthening before a mute and liquid in the next word, rare in the classical age, grows frequent from Prudentius onward: a single poem of Sidonius, as good a versifier as Maximianus and earlier in date, provides five specimens of the licence, VII 13 'emeritā trabeis', 237 'Sauromatā clipeo', 276 'exererē gladium', 277 'turbā graue', 376 'spatiā princeps.'

And here I remark that two more of Mr Birt's examples are similarly invalid, even on the face of them. If Propertius did write '*oppositā propellens . . . nostra*' in II 29 39 and Martial '*Caesareā praestitit*' in *spect. 28 10*, everybody except Mr Birt and the docile youth of Marburg will explain those

<sup>1</sup> If we are to believe the *thes. ling. Lat.*, there is another in *anth. Lat. Ries. 439* 1 'quid saeuis, Cypare? domiti modo terga iuueni', for Mr Reisch says 'Cyparus nom. vir. gr.' But *Cypare*, as usual, is feminine: the poem is addressed to a woman who has seduced a boy and finds him a backward lover; addressed to a man it would be absurd.

lengthenings in the same way. And these too, which Mr Birt would have cited if they had not escaped him :

Ouid. *met.* VII 569: nec sitis *extinctā* prius est quam uita bibendo (cod. opt. et plerique).

Manil. I 90: semper enim ex aliis *aliā* proseminal usus.

*Aetn.* 290: si *fortē* flexere caput tergoque feruntur.

Quint. Ser. 28: *inductā* prosunt et eodem balsama pacto.

Another example to be brushed aside as merely futile is the *Dodonā*<sup>1</sup> of *Aetn.* 6. Here again I can supply Mr Birt with matter which he has not found for himself. I recommend him to add *Priap.* 75 1 'Dodonā tibi, Iuppiter, sacrata est' and Manil. IV 634 'et genetrix *Cretā* ciuem sortita Tonantem,' and I condole with him that the scribes have not similarly substituted the Latin form for *Dodone* in Claud. III *cons. Hon.* 117 nor for *Cretē* in Ouid. *met.* VIII 118. And why does he neglect the five examples of *Hecuba* which are proffered him by the best MSS or by all MSS at Ouid. *met.* XIII 423, 549, 556, *Il. Lat.* 551, 1017? But now we come to something worse than mere futility.

When a metrical anomaly is in question, and examples are cited to vindicate it, those examples are illegitimate in which the anomaly does not stand alone but is accompanied by bad grammar or bad sense or both. Such verses are of necessity corrupt; to remove the corruption might reform the metre; and a competent and impartial critic, in seeking a correction, will take for his first hypothesis, not to be discarded till it has been tried, that the metrical anomaly is part and parcel of the corruption, not a casual and innocent bystander. Mr Birt, though he has written 240 pages on *Kritik und Hermeneutik*, does not know this, and has no intention of learning it from me; but among critics it is a commonplace, and he may find it enunciated in his own tongue by a genuine metrist, Mr Paul Maas, *Griechische Metrik* § 142: 'eine Metrik, die . . . bei grammatischen Verderbnissen metrische Anomalien aufzeigt und dazu führt, beide zugleich zu beseitigen, . . . wird einleuchtender sein als jene, für die nur wenig darauf ankommt, ob ein Text heil oder verderben, alt oder jung ist.'<sup>2</sup> When Mr Birt cites Iuu. X 54, he cites a sentence of which nobody has ever yet made sense, 'ergo *superuacula* aut perniciosa petuntur | propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum'; and critics in whom a distaste for nonsense is not altogether overpowered by a taste for false quantities have proposed alterations which cure both ills at once and remove the metrical anomaly by the mere act of restoring coherency to the thought. He might almost as well cite the spurious verse found in most MSS between XIV 1 and 2,

et quod maiorum *uitiā* sequiturque minores,

without trying to construe it; he might quite as well cite, and certainly would have cited unless he had overlooked it, VIII 105,

<sup>1</sup> I accept, for the sake of argument, the assumption that Dodona was the place which the author named.

<sup>2</sup> The truth is more fully stated in relation to a particular case at *Die neuen Responsionsfreiheiten* I p. 3.

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inde *Dolabella* | atque hinc Antonius, inde,

where again the sense halts no less than the metre, and Lachmann's *atque dehinc* (\*\**hinc* one MS of the eleventh century), whether right or not, sets both together on a sound footing. But another of his examples deserves to be examined at greater length.

Prop. IV 5 64 is printed as follows not only by Mr Birt but by the last German editors Mr Rothstein and Mr Hosius:

his animum nostrae dum uersat Acanthis amicæ  
per tenues ossæ sunt numerata cutes.

All three<sup>1</sup> adduce as parallel II 13 25 'sat mea sit magnā si tres sint pompa libelli,' and I have already signified that they might also adduce IV 1 101 'Iunonis faciē uotum inpetrabile, dixi.' Let it be assumed then that the verse is metrically correct. And now, how do they propose to interpret it? The bones of somebody or other were counted, not through his skin, but through his skins. What of this plural? Not a word from the defenders. The *thes. ling. Lat.* has reached *cutes*, so that if a parallel exists it ought to be found there. And there, to be sure, Mr Gudeman proffers us no fewer than fifteen parallels, or what he takes for such: 'pluralis legitur, Prop. IV 5 64, Mela II 14, Plin. *nat. VII 12*'—and then Tertullian and Arnobius and the like. But if anyone took the trouble to read these passages, this is what he would find: Mel. II 14 'Geloni hostium cutibus equos seque uelant,' Plin. *n.h. VII 12* 'Anthropophagos . . . ossibus humanorum capitum bibere cutibus que cum capillo pro mantelibus ante pectora uti,' and so forth: they are passages where the plural form, as might be expected, has the plural sense. The only exceptions, the only parallels to Prop. IV 5 64, are one instance, III 25, from the *historia persecutionum* of Victor Vitensis at the end of the fifth century, and one<sup>2</sup> from the uncouth *mulomedicina Chironis* § 707. But suppose we condone *cutes* as we have condoned *ossæ*: what does the verse mean? who was skin and bone? According to the Latin it was either Acanthis or Cynthia. Cynthia it certainly was not; Acanthis, who afterwards died of a pulmonary complaint, may perhaps have been skin and bone already, but Propertius did not say so here, for in the next line he begins his account of her death with *sed*: 'sed cape torquatae, Venus o regina, columbae | ob meritum ante tuos guttura secta foci'. Everyone recognises that the words must refer to Propertius, which the text does not allow. And the lengthening of a short final vowel is to be established by such evidence as this,—a verse containing a barbarism and not containing sense. This is the frame of mind in which Tereus ravished Philomela: concupiscence concentrated on its object and indifferent to all beside.

<sup>1</sup> Only Mr Rothstein was likely to adduce IV 3 44.

<sup>2</sup> One, not three; for in 220 the sense as well as the form is plural, and in 669, 'ut ipsa pon-

deri deprimitur ad spinam *cutes*', *cutes* is nom. sing., a form which Mr Gudeman neglects to register.

If anyone tries to amend an unsound reading, its friends immediately attack the correction in the belief that they are defending the text. But I shall not let that deter me from discussing this passage further, because most of the attempts to correct it reveal no more notion of scientific method than Mr Birt's ardent embracement of the corruption. More than one scholar has proposed to insert the interjection *a* after *ossa*. This does not even aim at mending anything but the metre, and fails to mend even that. In order to remove a false quantity it introduces a forbidden elision.<sup>1</sup> The only parallel that I know of in any classical poet later than Catullus is *cons. Liu.* 76 'ultima : sit fati haec summa querella tui,' where the MSS are of the fifteenth century and *haec* is quite superfluous; though of course examples of this and of all malpractices may be found in inscriptions, as *carm. epigr.* 986 8 'linquentem uitiae et commoda militiae' and 1136 6 'omnia mecum uno hoc composui tumulo.' Hertzberg paid some heed to the sense, and made the verse refer to Propertius by writing 'per tenues ossa *has* sunt numerata cutes'; but this commits the same offence, and *cutes* still sticks fast. The only conjecture which cures everything is Jacob's 'per *tenuem* ossa *mihi* sunt numerata *cutem*', and the change was easier than it may seem, *ossa m.*, *ossam*, *ossā*, and *-es* . . . *-es* to restore some sort of metre. The rhythm, though not usual, is that of 66 'ob meritum ante tuos,' and support is lent by the parallel of *Ouid. trist.* IV 6 42 'uix habeo tenuem quae tegat ossa *cutem*.' But when a good conjecture has been made, some would-be improver will often turn it into a bad one; and here Palmer removes from Jacob's reading the necessary *mihi* and substitutes a superfluous *suam*.

But with Prop. IV 5 64 we are not yet at the worst. Here Mr Birt merely shuts his eyes to the attendant vices of sense and grammar. In *Mart. spect.* 28 10 he admits that the text is corrupt, and alters it; but he is careful to exempt from alteration the metrical anomaly, and keeps it as the apple of his eye.

quidquid et in circo spectatur et amphitheatro  
diues *Caesareā*<sup>2</sup> praestitit unda tibi.

His remarks are contained in a footnote on p. 111 of his *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils*, and the following is the show of reason under which he gratifies his wishes. 'Dieser Martialvers bietet zweierlei Anstoss, da erstlich zu *tibi* ein Vokativ fehlt und zweitens der poetische Sprachgebrauch verbietet dass ein Substantiv (*unda*) zwei Epitheta erhalte.'—This, I must

<sup>1</sup> The observation which forbids it, though made so long ago as 1861 by Lucian Mueller *de r. m.* p. 300, is not yet universally known; and just as Schneidewin had conjectured 'aut aperi faciem aut tu tunicata laua' at *Mart. III 3 4*, so did Friedlaender afterwards conjecture 'os hominis, mulsum et me rogat Hippocrates' ib. IX 94 2, and Dr Postgate 'miramur, facili ut temperat arte manus' at Prop. II 1 10. All three conjectures have a second vice, in that

they end the first half of the pentameter with words which are not allowed to stand there.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian Mueller *de r. m.* ed. 2 p. 390 explains the lengthening as due to the following mute and liquid; and, if *Caesarea* made sense, it would not be incredible that Martial, who ventures on the lengthening '*Romanā stringis*' even *ēr āpōēi*, V 69 3, should here venture even on the lengthening '*Caesareā* praestitit.'

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mediately I shall of the Mr Birt's proposed ending remove level that *na*: sit century of all sententem posui refer to at this lecture *acuteam*, . . . -es hat of Ouid. a good t into necessary Birt r. In ut he as the e und which s, da rauch must r with e. plains mute use, it o ven even on observe in parenthesis, is quite false: Catull. 4 9 'trucem Ponticum sinum,' Verg. *Aen.* X 408 'horrida acies Volcania,' Prop. III 3 9 sq. 'pugnam sinistram Cannensem' are exact parallels to 'diues Caesarea unda'; and the truth is that any noun can have two epithets provided that one is descriptive and the other possessive.—'Caesarea aber ist richtig; vgl. *Caesaris unda*, Spectac. 25 2. Also muss *diues* fallen, und es wird zu emendiren sein: *Diue, id Caesarea praestitit unda tibi*, wobei *diue* auf den Nereus (v. 7) zurückweist; ein *id* aber konnte sich Martial ebensogut gestatten wie ein *is* (14 145 u. 2 30 5).' On this score Mr Birt need not trouble his head, and if he had looked at the right page of Friedlaender's index instead of the wrong one he would have found there five examples of *id*. As for his conjecture, I pass over the point that the vocative *diue*, in contrast to *diua*, is extremely rare,<sup>1</sup> and that Martial, if Friedlaender can be trusted, uses no case of the masculine but the genitive plural, and I only call it a preposterous conjecture. Nereus has been casually mentioned, together with Triton and Thetis and Galatea, in this description of the naumachia, and Mr Birt pretends that he was the person for whom the pageant was displayed. We know that he was not, and we know who that person was. The metrically anomalous *Caesarea* contains the vocative which *tibi* requires and the only vocative which *praestitit tibi* admits; and while prejudice, trying to talk the language of an open and enquiring mind, says '*Caesarea* ist richtig' and appeals to *Caesaris unda* 25 2, a disinterested critic will recall other parallels: *spect.* 5 3 sq. '*Caesar, . . . quidquid fama canit, praestat harena tibi*', 9 1 sq. '*praestitit . . . tibi, Caesar, . . . proelia rhinoceros,*' 21 1 sq. '*quidquid in Orpheo Rhodope spectasse theatro | dicitur, exhibuit, Caesar, harena tibi*', 1 14 1 sq. '*Caesar, . . . hoc etiam praestat harena tibi*.' Such a critic was Heinsius, and he conjectured *Caesar, io*; not rightly, but the difference between hitting and missing is a trifle compared with the difference between missing and never aiming. My own proposal was made in 1907, *Journ. Phil.* XXX p. 231.

Mr Birt, to do him justice, is by no means the only person who comports himself in this fashion on the territory common to metrical science and textual criticism; and the lesson, how not to treat an anomaly, can be learnt even better from another example. There is no dispute among prosodists that *mel* is short. Lucian Mueller *de r. m.* ed. 2 p. 391 cites Ouid. *ex Pont.* IV 2 9 'quis *mēl* Aristaeo' and Appul. *apol.* 9 'meum *mēl* et haec,' and might have cited also G.L.K. VI p. 86 10 'apes legunt *mēl ex rosa*,' described by Aphantius as 'duas iambicas coniugationes.' But he overlooked a verse in which the sole MS and all editions present *mel* as long. *anth. Lat. Ries.* 458 is a poem with the title 'interdum et neglectam formam placere,' perhaps by Seneca, certainly by a good writer of a good age; and it contains this couplet, 7 sq.,

uincola nec curet capit is discussa soluti  
et coram faciem *mēl* habet illa suam.

<sup>1</sup> But Ouid. *trist.* III 1 78 should be added to the list in *thes. ling. Lat.* V p. 1652 20 and deleted at 1655 7-9, where its place may be filled by *anth. Lat. Ries.* 423 3.

Now a critic and metrist ought to consider, before anything else, that this lengthening occurs in an ungrammatical and meaningless verse; he ought therefore to suspect it, and in correcting the verse he ought to remove it if he can. But all editors so correct the verse as to preserve the false quantity: they all write 'mel habet illa suum' (or *suom*), and are thus committed to further alterations, the least bad of which is Heyne's 'me coram: facies mel habet illa suum.' Methodical emendation will emend everything, metre as well as sense and grammar, with much less change:

et coram faciem me lauet illa suam,<sup>1</sup>

'let her wash her face when I am by,' which she will not do if it is painted. After I had been at the pains of making this correction I found, as usual, that it had been made by Heinsius;<sup>2</sup> yet no editor accepts it, and the two last do not much as mention it.

But to proceed. Mr Birt's 'Maecenaselegie I 139: Nestoris *annosa* uicisses saecula si me' is a false citation. What the MSS really give is this,

Nestoris *annosa* uixissem saecula, si me  
dispensata tibi stamina *nempe* forent;

and it is nonsense. Editors have restored *annosi*, *uicisses*, *nente*. The metrical anomaly is not here indeed an integral part of the corruption of the sentence, and there is nothing against *annosa* except its prosody; but when we are invited to trust MSS in a place where they show themselves thus untrustworthy, the net is spread in the sight of the bird.

In *catalept.* 9 60 'Cynthius et *Musa*, Bacchus et *Agliae*' it is only half the MSS, though the better half, that give *Musa* for *Musae*; and, to show of what account the MSS are, they all give *egiale* or worse for *Agliae*. Mr Birt says 'Im Interesse der Konzinnität steht hier nun auch *Musa* im Singular', and I agree: I think it was introduced by a scribe who shared Mr Birt's notion of concinnity. *Cynthius* and *Bacchus* are singular because they are the names of individuals: *Agliae* is an individual name substituted by synecdoche for the plural *Gratiae*: what concinnity requires is either a similar synecdoche, such as *Clio*, or the plural *Musae*, usually found thus associated with Apollo. The requirements of concinnity and of metre therefore coincide, as might be expected. And one word more. These same MSS, not half of them but all, give Verg. *Priap.* 2 2 thus,

ego arida, uiator, ecce populus.

But not even Mr Birt believes that the vowel can be lengthened in these circumstances; he calls it 'unmöglich,' and inserts an *o* like other editors. Does this teach him no lesson?

<sup>1</sup> Why not *faciem coram*? Perhaps to avoid rhyming a declinable with an indeclinable word (see Lachmann on Prop. I 5 20); perhaps merely to obtain the regular equipoise of substantive and adjective; or perhaps this poet thought, though Ovid did not, that a preposition

and its case cohere so closely when in contact as to interfere with the division of the verse. Their separation is often much wider, as in Tib. I 6 30 'contra quis ferat arma deos?'

<sup>2</sup> At Ouid. *art.* III 216; but he quite mistook the sense and wrote *nec* for *et*.

I have said already that '*oppositā propellens*' in Prop. II 29 39, if the MS reading of that verse were true, would admit another explanation than Mr Birt's. But no editor accepts the reading, and no connoisseur will ever accept it. Put aside all question of the quantity, and compare this, 'dixit et opposita propellens sauvia nostra | prosilit' (in which *opposita* is to be nom. fem.), with the received text 'opposita propellens sauvia dextra,' and say which hexameter is like Propertius and which is unlike him; and then confirm your judgment with the parallel of Hor. *epod.* 3 21 'manum puella sauvio opponat tuo.' *dextra* (*destra*) and *nostra* are both much like *uestra* and therefore something like one another: at Ouid. *trist.* I 7 36 the MSS vary between *nostra*, *uestra*, and *dextra*, and at Stat. *silu.* V 5 83 editors cannot agree whether the *uestra* of M should be changed to *dextra* (*destra* exc. *Polit.*) or to *nostra* (*ed. princ.*).

Mr Birt's remaining citation from Propertius, II 13 25 *magnā*, brings us at last to the legitimate examples which on an earlier page I set apart for future consideration; examples in which nothing but the prosody is anomalous, and which cannot therefore be instantly challenged as invalid. What has to be considered and estimated is their weight.

Three of them are taken respectively from Propertius, Tibullus, and the *ciris*. The MSS of Propertius and Tibullus are late and bad, and those of the *ciris* are abominable. Such MSS cannot furnish strong evidence for anything: their readings, even when faultless, are often false. Those MSS of Horace which in *carm.* III 10 5 sq. give 'nemus | inter pulchra situm tecta' are far older and better than any of these, and there is nothing in *situm* to awake suspicion; it would now be standing in all texts if superior MSS did not tell us that Horace wrote *satum*. Much less then should anomalies be accepted upon such authority. All MSS of Propertius at III 8 37 give the anomalous form *tendisti* for *tetendisti*: by mere accident we learn from two grammarians that what Propertius wrote was *nexisti*. As better MSS become available, anomalies tend to disappear; and not anomalies only but even rarities. Lucian Mueller *de r. m. ed. 2 p. 406* cites from Persius two examples of lengthening at the caesura, one of which is VI 26 'emole. quid metuīs? occa, et seges altera in herba est'; but the best MS has *metuas*. If at *ciris* 189 we had the help even of the twelfth century MS which contains 454-541, who can be sure that it would confirm the fifteenth century MSS in their 'tanto scelerē damnare puellam,' when it convicts them at 481 of writing *uexauit et aegros* for *uexarier undis*? And if we are to trust their scansion of *scelerē*, why are we not to trust their scansion of 'inde māgno geminat Iōui' in 374? The MSS of Tibullus which give *agricolā* at I 7 61 give also *medicandō* at III 6 3; but that is not the sort of false quantity in which Mr Birt takes pleasure, so instead of defending it with *uincendō* and *petendō* and *lugendō* from Seneca and *wigilandō* from Juvenal he rejects it as 'unmöglich' (*Krit. u. Herm.* p. 140).

In the examples from Tibullus and Propertius there is yet another element of weakness. To correct *tanto scelere* into *tanti sceleris* at *ciris* 189 may be called rough treatment, justified only by the known and proved badness of the

MSS. But the *agricolā* of Tib. I 7 61 and the *magnā* of Prop. II 13 25 can so easily be removed that they would carry little weight as evidence even if the MSS were better than they are. In Tib. I 7 61 the repetition of a letter, 'agricola a (Baehrens, e Itali) magna cum uenerit urbe,' at once gets rid of the anomaly and gives a much more usual construction, and the verse then resembles II 4 21. In Prop. II 13 25 Baehrens' 'sat mea sic magnast si tres sint pompa libelli' is again a gentle change. It is insufferable that Mr Birt should say, as he does in *Jugendverse* p. 111, 'schon der Konjunktiv im Konditionalsatz si tres sint erfordert auch im Hauptsatz das sit magna, das in den Handschriften steht; ein magna est trägt einen plumpen Fehler hinein': the construction is illustrated in the grammars, Cic. *de am.* 40 'turpis . . . excusatio est . . . si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur.' His objection to the present tense beside *sequēris* and other futures is equally dispelled by such passages as Cic. *Att.* XII 29 2 'si quid erit, magnum est adiumentum.' But when, after saying, as we have seen, that the conjunctive in the protasis requires *sit magna* in the apodosis too, he goes on to call this *sit* 'Optativ' and to compare the optatives of I 17 10 and IV 11 81, I cannot imagine what opinion he really holds. It is ridiculous to say that a conjunctive in protasis 'erfordert,' and 'erfordert auch,' an optative in apodosis.

The best authenticated of all the examples is Verg. *Aen.* III 464 'dona dehinc auro grauiā sectoque elephanto.' Not only is it presented by MSS of the fourth century, but the lengthening is noticed by Seruius. Yet Schaper's conjecture

dona dehinc auro grauiā ac secto elephanto

is more than plausible, because in removing the anomaly it brings the verse nearer to its Homeric model, *Od.* XVIII 196 and XIX 564 πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος. If *ac* were absorbed by *grauia*, a scribe inserting the necessary conjunction would be quite as likely to write *sectoque* and remove the hiatus as to write *et secto* and avoid the lengthening.

*Aen.* XII 648 'sancta ad uos animā atque istius inscia culpae' has almost equal authority from the MSS, but Seruius neither remarks upon the lengthening, though in combination with hiatus it is doubly remarkable, nor cites it at III 464 as a parallel to *grauia*, which he treats as unique: it may be however that he elided the *-a* and lengthened the *-us*. His lemma, so far as it goes, agrees with Virgil's MSS, and the verse appears in the same form at Macr. *Sat.* III 3 6; but this may possibly be due to that interpolation from the current text of classics which in Seruius' citation of Hor. *carm.* II 18 30 at *Aen.* VI 152 has substituted (except in one MS) the *fine* of Horace's vulgate for the *sede* which Seruius wrote. The conjectures of Lachmann and Munro are not worth mentioning; the *nescia* of certain later MSS, adopted by several editors, is rather high-handed, because it is hard to say why any scribe who found *nescia* should alter it to *inscia*; though on the other hand it is no less

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hard to say why Virgil, having it in his power to write *nescia*, should write *inscia* instead. But an easier change will set the metre right:

sancta adque istius ad uos anima inscia culpae  
descendam.

The form *adque* is frequent in Virgil's MSS and is here given by R: a scribe glances from the first to the second *ad* and writes

sancta ad uos anima inscia culpae,

*adque istius* is added in the margin and then inserted in the wrong place. The lengthening of short final *us* in caesura is well established: the closest parallel is *georg.* IV 453 'non te nullius exercent numinis irae'; and Seruius, who makes no comment on the scansion there, would naturally make none here. Neither *istius* nor *istiūs* occurs elsewhere in Virgil, but *illius* and *ipsius* have their penultimate long or short as required.

The most stubborn, in external appearance, of all the examples is that furnished by the good or at least respectable MSS of Ouid. *amor.* III 7 55, 'sed, puto, non *blandā*, non optima perdidit in me | oscula.' The transposition of Heinsius and many editors, 'sed non *blanda*, puto,' fails for two reasons: *puto* in Ovid, who uses it more than thirty times, invariably has its final syllable short, and its proper place is immediately after the conjunction, as in u. 2 'at, puto.' Later conjectures, *blanda haec* or *est* Riese, *blande* Ehwald, are contemptible. And all are gratuitous, for the supposed anomaly is an empty phantom. No short syllable is lengthened here. The passage runs thus, 53-6:

a tenera quisquam sic surgit mane puella  
protinus ut sanctos possit adire deos ?  
sed, puto, non *blanda* : non optima perdidit in me  
oscula, non omni sollicitauit ope.

*blanda* is abl. fem. in agreement with the *puella* of 53, and the sense is 'sed, puto, non *blanda* a *puella* sic surrexi.' The construction is loose, but quite natural, and resembles Cic. II *Verr.* II 174 'possumne magis rem iudicatam adferre, magis reum condemnatum in iudicium adducere? at quorum iudicio condemnatum?' that is 'at quorum iudicio condemnatum hunc adduco?'

There are now left, of Mr Birt's list, only the two archaic examples, *aquila* from Ennius and *deserta* from the epigram on Plautus; and it is by no means incredible that Ennius, in imitation of such Homeric scensions as an anapaestic *Baλίē Il.* XIX 400 or *όπόσα XXIV 7*, made *aquila* an anapaest in the verse cited by Probus, and that the epigrammatist followed his lead and made *deserta* a molossus, as *ἀσπαρτα* is a molossus in *Od.* IX 109; for Ennius ventured upon other injudicious experiments in metre which were not destined to succeed. Keil's insertion of *in* after *aquila* is improbable: in the epigram *deserta scaena est* would be easy enough.

My object has not been to controvert the opinion that short final vowels were lengthened; it has been to show how flimsy is the evidence arrayed in support of that opinion, and to reprobate the temper of mind which finds such evidence sufficient. What sort of evidence does suffice may be seen in that one class of such lengthenings which is proven and beyond dispute. That the conjunction *que* was lengthened *ἐν θέσει* in the 2nd and 5th feet of the hexameter is a conclusion established by thirty-four examples,<sup>1</sup> all unimpeachable. Half of them, being in Virgil, have the best possible MS authority. Not one of them is attended by any error in grammar or defect of sense. All of them are surrounded by severe restrictions: the preceding word must fill a whole foot, the following word must be a spondee or an anapaest, and a second *que* must be subjoined; and furthermore the lengthening is confined to a few authors. What a contrast! Look back upon the examples here passed in review: seldom strongly attested, often discovered in bad company, sparse in comparison yet not obeying similar rules, till one cannot but wonder why the poets were thus sparing and thus capricious in resorting to a licence which, if they indeed possessed it, must have been so very convenient and seductive, especially in words ending with three short syllables. A contention founding itself upon such evidence deserves worse names than unscientific and unmethodical; it is something remote from serious disputation and even from honest enquiry.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

<sup>1</sup> 17 in Virgil, 12 in Ovid's *metamorphoses*, 5 in other poets; 22 with a double consonant or a mute and liquid following, 12 without.

## ARISTOTLE'S VERSES IN PRAISE OF PLATO.

ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς κλεινὸν Κεκροπίης δάπεδον  
εἰνεβέως σεμνῆς Φιλίης ιδρύσατο βωμόν  
ἀνδρὸς ὃν οὐδὲ αἰνέν τοσι κακοῖσι θέμις,  
ὅς μόνος ἡ πρώτος θυητῶν κατέδειξεν ἐναργῶς  
οἰκεῖψ τε βίῳ καὶ μεθόδουι λόγων,  
ὡς ἀγαθός τε καὶ εὐδαίμων ἄμα γίνεται ἀνήρ.  
οὐ νῦν δ' ἔστι λαβεῖν οὐδενὶ ταῦτα ποτέ.

FOR hundreds or even thousands of years posterity saw in Aristotle only the impersonal intellectual majesty of the philosophical system. When awakening humanism began everywhere to seek in the works of the classic writers the impress of their personality, this new interest met in Aristotle with the most stubborn resistance. His was a very different case from that of Plato or Demosthenes. The few notices preserved of his life and person remained in merely external relation to the body of his works. In recent times we have begun, however, to discern the intellectual history of the man Aristotle, and in this regard his relations to Plato naturally acquire special significance. In the various phases of his life these relations took various forms; but in view of late gossip about the pupil's ingratitude to the master, it is as well to say that never was Aristotle's attitude to Plato other than one of the deepest possible veneration. It has a special psychological fascination to see how this veneration expressed itself at the time when Aristotle found himself committed to philosophical opposition to his master; and it is significant that the only documentary proofs of Aristotle's attitude that we possess belong to these years. Evidently his veneration found this compensating expression when he was forced to publish his philosophical criticisms.

In my book on Aristotle's development I have already made some attempt to discuss in this context the fragment of an Aristotelian Elegy which the neo-Platonist Olympiodorus has preserved. I showed that it must have been composed after Plato's death, and that its central motive is missed unless one realizes that its author was for many years of his life not merely a member of the Academy, but wholly absorbed in Plato's following. Implicit in the poem is his reply to those critics who reproached him with his desertion of Plato. Since then I think I have advanced somewhat in my understanding of these charming verses, and I therefore venture once more to direct your attention upon them. I will begin with a translation:

'And when he had come to Kekropia's famous soil he piously founded there an altar of august Philia in honour of the man whom bad men have no right even to praise: who sole or first among mortals revealed it clear to sight, by his own life and by the investigations of his discourses, that man becomes happy if he becomes good. But now it is not possible for anyone ever to attain this.'

We do not know who the pious founder of the altar is. Clearly he was not an Athenian, but came from elsewhere. The statement of Olympiodorus that the Elegy was addressed to EuDEMUS (*πρὸς Εὐδημὸν*) is of no assistance, for it means just that EuDEMUS was the person addressed, not, as Wilamowitz supposes, the person referred to in the third person. If this had been meant he must have written *εἰς Εὐδημὸν*. Such a misuse of words cannot be credited to Olympiodorus or his source offhand. This would involve important consequences for the interpretation of the poem. The poem would in that case speak of the past action of a certain EuDEMUS; and this EuDEMUS would probably be the dead Cyprian, the friend of Aristotle's youth and pupil of Plato, who joined Dion's expedition against the tyrant Dionysius II., and fell in 354 before Syracuse. Wilamowitz thought it natural and appropriate that Aristotle should have composed a poem in memory of the fallen friend, after whom, as we know, he also named his Dialogue on immortality. But this combination would only be justified if the tradition made no sense, which is certainly not the case.

The traditional text is *ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις τοῖς πρὸς Εὐδημὸν*. That is to say, a living EuDEMUS is addressed. This can be none other than EuDEMUS of Rhodes, the pupil of Aristotle. The poem, I take it, is composed after the death of Plato; and this EuDEMUS is appropriately addressed in a poem directed, after a recognized convention, to an *έταῖρος* for his enlightenment.

This unknown, then, so Aristotle tells EuDEMUS, erected an altar, not of Plato, but of Philia, whose divinity is implied in the adjective *σεμνή*. Quite apart from the adjective, it would be plainly wrong to interpret the words as though they were *Φιλίας ἔνεκα ἰδρύσατο βῶμον Πλάτωνος*. No Greek who read as far as the end of line 2 could fail to join the words *Φιλίας βῶμον ἰδρύσατο*. To the phrase *Φιλίας βῶμον* is attached a second genitive—it is, of course, common in Greek to join two genitives to one substantive. But the two genitives here have not, I think, as they often have in such cases, a different function; rather, the genitive *ἀνδρός* depends on *Φιλίας*. Similarly Tacitus, in *Annals* IV. 74, reports that the Senate resolved to erect an altar of friendship, with statues of Tiberius and Sejanus on the right and left of it—an altar, in short, of the friendship of Tiberius and Sejanus. With more right this unknown (a pupil, no doubt) claimed divine honours for the friendship of Plato, for Plato's school was based on the loftiest friendship between master and pupils, who were officially termed *φίλοι*. And was not Plato the philosopher of Philia, he who traced all human relations to man's innate desire for the *πρῶτον φίλον*, the divine *ἀγαθόν*? Was not the Philia

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which this man taught and practised itself, for that very reason, divine and ideal?

To continue. The name of 'friend' in Plato's sense could be claimed only by the good. If we remember that, we shall feel it no accident that Plato is characterized in this context as 'the man whom bad men have no right even to praise.' The words are no mere rhetorical hyperbole, they have reference to actualities. They are directed against a eulogy of Plato, which was of no account, against the sharp tongues of fellow-pupils who reproached Aristotle with unworthiness of Plato's friendship because he had criticized certain doctrines of the master. Similar ethical misconstructions of his criticism of the ideal theory are also faced by Aristotle in his Dialogue περὶ φιλοσοφίας, which, if my earlier discussions are correct, appeared soon after Plato's death. These self-styled true friends and eulogists of Plato are dismissed in the poem with haughty contempt. With this gesture he sweeps aside all that would part him from the beloved memory of Plato. The word θέμις implies that their praise of the master was to him a kind of blasphemy. But these tendentious praises give him occasion himself to praise the dead, not in the literal faith of these blind followers, but for an incomparable historical achievement, for a unique grandeur, which no time can obscure:

ος μόνος ἡ πρῶτος θυητῶν κατέδειξεν ἐναργῶς  
οἰκεῖω τε βίῳ καὶ μεθόδοισι λόγων,  
ώς ἀγαθός τε καὶ εὐδαίμων ἄμα γίνεται ἀνήρ.

Let us begin with the gospel which Plato brought to men and spread by word and deed. 'Ως ἀγαθός τε καὶ εὐδαίμων ἄμα γίνεται ἀνήρ. That is to say, man's happiness springs from the right ordering of his soul, and from nothing else. This is the doctrine of Plato's *Gorgias* and of the First Book of the *Republic*: that injustice and happiness are incompatible; that the completely good, the ἀγαθὸς τελέως, is alone εὐδαίμων, since he alone εὐ πράττει. Bernays sees in this sentence a reason for doubting the tradition that Plato is spoken of. He maintained that the 'sole or first' (*μόνος ἡ πρῶτος*) referred to was not Plato, but Socrates: only Socrates could here be intended. This view has been rightly rejected. Aristotle did not regard Socrates with the enthusiastic personal veneration which he shows to the subject of the verses. And, apart from that, Socrates propounded no doctrines whatever; and even if this principle were Socratic in germ, it is yet doubtful whether Aristotle's ethical convictions would have allowed him to regard its bold claim as verified in the tragic death of Socrates. The *Nicomachean Ethics* teaches that the morally perfect man cannot indeed be made 'wholly unhappy' by hard blows of fortune, but that such a life is yet no μακαρίστης. The thesis of Plato is just that it is: ὁ εὖ ζῶν μακάριός τε καὶ εὐδαίμων (*Rep.* I. 354A). Further, it is improbable that the ethical rigorism of the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* is substantially Socratic. The reports preserved of Socratic conversations show him only as striving for a clear answer to the question whether virtue and the

good are also pleasant (*ἡδύ*) and profitable (*συμφέρον*). Such a paradox as the doctrine of Plato's *Gorgias* was made possible for the first time by the death of Socrates. Now it seems quite clear to me that Aristotle is here concerned with the principle in its most rigorous form, with the view that virtue and only virtue, virtue alone and by itself, gives man happiness; and that, with a principle so much attacked and admired, everything depended on the question whether the man who had propounded it had also proved its truth by his life. For as we read in the Tenth Book of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1172b 3): *ἔοικασιν οὖν οἱ ἀληθεῖς τῶν λόγων οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον. συνῳδὸς γὰρ ὅντες τοῖς ἔργοις πιστεύονται· διὸ προτρέπονται τοὺς συνιέντας ξῆν κατ' αὐτούς.* This is exactly what Aristotle wishes to say of Plato. His *λόγος* was truly *συνῳδὸς τοῖς ἔργοις*, and in that lies the best *πίστις* of its truth. To him Plato is the *τελέως ἀγαθός*, and at the same time the prototype of a new *εὐδαιμονία*, which depends wholly on the moral perfection, the *ἀρετή*, of man.

Let us now advance a step further. Aristotle's Dialogue *περὶ φιλοσοφίας* contains, together with the criticism of the ideal theory, a similar positive appreciation of Plato. There is a fragment of this Dialogue recovered by me some time ago in which Aristotle places Plato beside Zoroaster, the great giver of law and religion to the East. The doctrine of the Good as cosmic principle, which Zoroaster had propounded in times long past, Plato had rediscovered for a later age. It is a point of importance for the poem that in this passage Plato's prophetic significance is specially connected with the doctrine of the Good, an interpretation of Platonism which becomes fully intelligible only in the light of Aristotle's own development of it in his theology. On close inspection we find complete agreement between the poem and the picture presented in the Dialogue. What is the meaning of the words *ἢ μόνος ἢ πρῶτος θνητῶν κατέδειξεν ἐναργῶς?* *Κατέδειξεν* is used, often in conjunction with *πρῶτος*, of inventors of a *τέχνη*. It is not worth while to cite instances. But the Greeks also applied the word in a pregnant sense to religious revelation. Thus we read in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (1032): *'Ορφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.* Diodorus (I. 6. 1) speaks of *οἱ πρῶτοι καταδεῖξαντες τιμᾶν τὸ θεῖον.* The same writer (I. 45. 1) reports of the Egyptian king Menas that he at first ruled the land according to the gods and *καταδεῖξαι θεούς τε σέβεσθαι καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν.* Plato himself uses the word only twice, in both places of Asclepius, who revealed to man the mysteries of healing. There can be no doubt that this is the sense in which the word is used here, as the adverb *ἐναργῶς* suggests. Here, as in the Dialogue *περὶ φιλοσοφίας*, Plato is for Aristotle the prophet, the founder of a new religion, preaching the divinity of the Good and its power to bring release and happiness. Elsewhere in Plato and Aristotle we find philosophy compared with the Mysteries, above all in the *Symposium*, where Plato makes the grades of dedication of the *mystes* a symbol of the ascent to the philosophic vision of the Ideas. In other places too echoes of the Mysteries give

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Plato's thought and language a religious tone, and Aristotle in the youthful Dialogues frequently imitated Plato in this. We can now see that the phrase *οἰκεῖῳ τε βίῳ καὶ μεθόδοισι λόγῳ* is meant to point in the same direction, for the Orphic religion consisted of *βίος* and *λόγος*. Plato is the founder of a definite *βίος* and of a philosophical doctrine; and the reference to the agreement of the two in the person of the founder is intended, in the words of the *Ethics*, *προτρέπεσθαι τὸν συνιέντας ξῆν κατ' αὐτούς*.

The master's successors are therefore the subject of the last verse. Aristotle means to rouse no prejudice against them when he says: in these present days, among us of the next generation, none can ever attain to this. The doctrine is not the less true for the fact that only Plato himself was able wholly to realize it, and Plato's successors are not on that account the less needed or the less enviable. This is in full agreement with the attitude of the *Ethics* on the question of the happiness of the virtuous man. The verse is perfectly intact. The δέ in the third place is in order; *νῦν* and *ποτέ* do not exclude one another, as has been thought. *νῦν* includes all time since Plato; *ποτέ* stands for any moment of time within this period. It is as if the words were *τῶν γε νῦν οὐδεὶς ποτε δύναται ταῦτα λαβεῖν*. We may note also that this word *λαβεῖν* is the regular Aristotelian term for the realization of an ideal. Attempts to alter the words *οὐ νῦν* are due to a failure to see that the sharp opposition is needed to distinguish the present of the writer from the time when Plato still moved among men. The poem, however, must have been composed not long after Plato's death, for I think that the Eudemus addressed was, like Theophrastus, a member of Aristotle's first school at Assos within three years of Plato's death. It may perhaps be attributed to the same time as the Dialogue *περὶ φιλοσοφίας*.

The poem is a valuable piece of evidence for the religious colouring of the Platonism which Aristotle learnt in the Academy, and which he himself maintained in his youthful works, even after he had rejected Plato's theory of Ideas. But the centre of this religion for Aristotle is Plato himself, its founder and its ideal, and the object of a religious veneration such as was to be accorded to the philosopher-kings of his *Republic* after their death (540c): *μνημεῖα δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ θυσίας τὴν πόλιν δημοσίᾳ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν καὶ ἡ Πινθία συναναιρῇ, ὡς δαίμοσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς εὐδαιμοσι τε καὶ θεῖοις.*

WERNER JAEGER.

## THE MEANING OF THE *HIPPOLYTUS* OF EURIPIDES.

### I.

IN beginning to speak of Euripides in this University of Manchester,<sup>1</sup> one's thoughts naturally turn to the work of Professor Norwood in this direction,<sup>2</sup> and it is with an especially keen sense of pleasure that I find myself not only following in his footsteps—a long way after!—but helping in a small way to contribute some further confirmation to the views on Euripides established by him and Professor Verrall.

There is, in fact, a sort of Euripidean tradition founded at Cambridge, and continued here at Manchester—a tradition tending to displace the contempt for Euripides that had been broadcast by Schlegel<sup>3</sup> and his followers in the last century, and to replace it by admiration founded on the rationalist interpretation of his plays.

This interpretation, applied with equal success by Professor Verrall to the *Alcestis*, *Ion*, and other dramas,<sup>4</sup> and by Professor Norwood to the *Bacchae*, finds very strong support in the large number of Euripides' plays in which it can be used to explain apparent artistic deficiencies or irregularities of stage treatment.

According to this theory, Euripides appears not only as a dramatic poet but as an acute and powerful religious, political and social propagandist, something far greater than an 'inspired journalist'—in other words, his plays have a second meaning or 'moral' besides their significance as works of art pure and simple.

It is the result of an attempt, as Professor Verrall has said,<sup>5</sup> to regain a lost point of view—to try and place ourselves in the position of the educated Athenian of the fifth century, B.C., rather than in that of the nineteenth century scholar in criticizing plays performed before an audience of the former and not originally intended for philological study by the latter.

We thus find that the 'moral' of the *Alcestis* and of the *Ion* is that 'the gods,' the orthodox gods of Olympus, do not exist, and that belief in the prophecies of the Delphian Apollo is nothing more than childish superstition. If we analyze the plays on this basis, a number of apparent deficiencies of composition disappear as such and the work of the artist is vindicated.

In the case of the *Hippolytus* there is no such seeming lack of cohesion between the various scenes and incidents of the story as would lead us to

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the meeting of the Classical Association at Manchester, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Especially *The Riddle of the Bacchae*, Manchester, Univ. Press, 1908; and *Greek Tragedy*, London, Methuen, 1920, pp. 186-326.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Schlegel, *Dramatische Vorlesungen*, Vienna, 1809.

<sup>4</sup> Alc., Ion, Iph. T., Phoen.: *Euripides the Rationalist*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1895. Andr., Hel., Herc. F., Or.: *Essays on Four Plays of Euripides*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1905. Bacch.: *The Bacchants of Euripides and Other Essays*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1910.

<sup>5</sup> *Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 1, quoting Dr. Way's Preface to his *Euripides in English Verse*.

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dismiss the whole work as being of inferior quality ; the events follow in correct dramatic order, and the whole effect is well rounded off.

The *ex hypothesi* moral of the story is a warning against allowing oneself to be carried to extremes in the passion of Love. Woe to those who permit this passion to rule them so completely as Phaedra, and likewise woe to those who avoid Love so absolutely as does Hippolytus ! The lesson we are told to learn is that moderation, moderation in all things, is best.

When we have examined the play in detail and as a whole, we shall find that there is probably an ulterior motive in the *Hippolytus*, a second 'moral' more subtly pointed ; but it does not contradict the *ex hypothesi* moral. On the contrary, we shall see that the theme of moderation, moderation in all things, is only strengthened and confirmed by it.

Euripides sought out as subject-matter for his plays those legends that would best serve to illustrate his own underlying motive ; and in Athens he had many from which to choose, but in some cases a less known tale might fit more accurately the moral the dramatist sought to teach than some more popular story. In such a case Euripides did not hesitate, and the rather recondite specimen of folk-lore was made the framework for the poet-philosopher's subject. I can hardly agree with Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff<sup>1</sup> that Euripides deliberately attempted to place rare Athenian legends in the limelight solely from the patriotic point of view of wishing to teach his hearers the half-forgotten traditions of their native land. That he was intensely patriotic there is no doubt—the *Heracleidae* and the *Suppliants* are sufficient evidence of that, even if none other were available—and because of his patriotism he chooses his themes preferably from Athenian subjects. But the reason why the lesser known legends are so often called upon by him for contribution seems to me rather to lie in the fact that the more popular ones did not suit his ulterior purpose, not that he chose them with a view to instructing his audience in local folk-lore.

Let us now glance through our play and observe if there should appear to be anything in it to attract our attention away from the *ex hypothesi* moral and, if so, what that may be to which our attention is directed.

The piece begins with a prologue by Aphrodite. She tells the audience who she is, and mentions that while she advances those who respect her power she destroys whoever fails to do so.<sup>2</sup> Here follows the story of Hippolytus and of the love for him that she has implanted in the heart of Phaedra.<sup>3</sup> She explains that Hippolytus is to be punished by death for his lack of respect for her decrees ; is to die by the word of his own father Theseus, who will call on the god Poseidon to fulfil, by slaying Hippolytus, one of the three wishes he had promised to grant to Theseus his son. She adds that Phaedra, though a noble nature, will die also, for the mortal pain that she must suffer is insufficient to redeem the contemptuous behaviour of her stepson towards the mighty

<sup>1</sup> U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hippolytos*, Berlin, 1891, p. 42

<sup>2</sup> L. 5.

<sup>3</sup> L. 28.

goddess.<sup>1</sup> She departs, advising the audience of the approach of Hippolytus all unsuspecting of his impending fate.

And now comes a surprise. Instead of speaking in iambic trimeters, Hippolytus calls in lyric measure upon his attendants to sing a hymn to Artemis,<sup>2</sup> which they accordingly proceed to do.<sup>3</sup> This is the only instance, in all the plays of Euripides that we possess, of a lyrical hymn being sung by par choregemata before the entrance of the Chorus; for the followers of Hippolytus do not constitute the Chorus proper, which is formed of Troezenian women, and is to make its first appearance later on. We cannot admit that Euripides can have committed such a breach of usual custom or so far abandoned his habitual method without having had some definite reason for so doing; but whatever that reason may have been, and this we shall see later, the effect on his hearers could be one only—namely, to make them concentrate their attention on what immediately follows. What does follow is the dedication by Hippolytus of a floral wreath to the statue of Artemis<sup>4</sup>—an incident to all appearance not particularly relevant, except as a sequel to the short ode that the attendants of Hippolytus himself have just finished singing.

Now it seems curious that the grammarians should have fixed upon this incident to give this play the name *Στεφανηφόρος*,<sup>5</sup> by which they distinguished it from another *Hippolytus* by the same author, which they called *καλυπτόμενος*.<sup>6</sup>

One of the followers of Hippolytus now addresses him in a line containing an apparently unnecessary and almost exaggeratedly reverent reference to the gods.<sup>7</sup> The servant asks him if he would listen to good counsel, and on his assent asks him if he is aware of a certain law of men. Hippolytus enquires what the law may be, and is told that it is *μισεῖν τὸ σεμύδν καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν φίλον*.<sup>8</sup>

Now the dislike of exclusiveness is hardly a law, as Professor Gilbert Murray here translates the word *νόμος*.<sup>9</sup> Dr. Way in his translation evidently felt this difficulty, and translates by ‘established wont’;<sup>10</sup> but it is in point of fact scarcely even that—it is at most a point of view common to the majority.

Hippolytus replies admitting the superior merits of an affable character. The servant asks him if he does not think the same applies to gods as well as to men. Hippolytus in assenting, *εἰπερ γε θυητοὶ θεῶν νόμοισι χρώμεθα*,<sup>11</sup> uses the word *νόμος* in a manner in which it can hardly be translated otherwise than by the word ‘law.’

The follower then proceeds to apply this to the case of Hippolytus and Aphrodite, but instead of laying stress, as one might expect, on the proud aloofness of Hippolytus, which tends to make him disliked by Aphrodite, he continues to refer to the ‘dignity’ of the goddess herself, *σεμνή γε μέντοι*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 48-50.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 58-60.

<sup>7</sup> L. 88.

<sup>8</sup> L. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 61-72.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 73-87.

<sup>9</sup> *The Athenian Drama III. : Euripides*, by Gilbert Murray; London, Allen, 1915 (6th ed.), p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Or, as the *Hypothesis* has it, *Στεφανίας*. *Στεφανηφόρος* appears in Hesychius, s.v. *ἀναγεράζει*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pollux, *Onomasticon* IX. 50; and Schol. in Theocr. II. 10.

<sup>10</sup> The Loeb Classical Library, *Euripides*, Vol. IV., p. 169; London, Heinemann, 1919.

<sup>11</sup> L. 98. <sup>12</sup> L. 103.

<sup>1</sup> L. <sup>3</sup> L.

Hippolytus gives expression to a very casual sort of adoration for her and departs with words that might be rendered :

'As for that Aphrodite of yours, just give her my love!'<sup>1</sup>

The man bends his head in worship before the image of the goddess, remarking that one must make allowances for youth; and the whole prologue ends with his words :

*σοφωτέρους γὰρ χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς.*<sup>2</sup>

'For wiser gods should be than mortal men.'

After the choral ode at l. 176 begins what may be called the action of the play proper.

It is made abundantly clear that all Phaedra's praiseworthy efforts at self-control have been rendered fruitless by the influence of the Cyprian goddess.

When the old nurse, after extracting from Hippolytus an oath of secrecy, reveals her mistress's love to him, we have him threatening to denounce her in a storm of righteous anger till she reminds him of his oath. He then bursts out, as we know, with the famous line,

*ἡ γλώσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ή δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος,*<sup>3</sup>

but keeps his promise nevertheless.

Phaedra hangs herself, and then Theseus arrives on the scene. He finds the tablet hanging from her wrist with the fatal accusation against his son written by her own hand. Carried away by his rage and shame, he cries out to his father Poseidon to avenge him :<sup>4</sup>

*ἀς ἐμοὶ ποτε  
ἀρᾶς ὑπέσχου τρεῖς, μᾶς κατέργασαι  
τούτων ἐμὸν παῖδ', ήμέραν δὲ μὴ φύγοι  
τίνδ', εἴπερ ήμὲν ὄπασας σαφεῖς ἀράς.*

The Troezenian women of the Chorus beg him to withdraw these terrible words. Owing to the rule that necessitated their continued presence in the Orchestra they could not help knowing the facts that had been laid bare before them, but by a common piece of stagcraft, that had almost developed into a convention, they also had been sworn to secrecy. We find this same expedient adopted in the *Medea*, both *Iphigeneias*, and the *Ion*.<sup>5</sup>

But Theseus is too angry to listen to such advice. 'It may not be,' he replies. 'I will cast him out from hence, and by one or other fate he shall be stricken down; for either Poseidon, keeping his oath to me, will send him to the gates of Hades, or else he shall lead the bitter life of an exile in a foreign land.'<sup>6</sup>

This is surely rather a strange way of calling on Poseidon to fulfil an obligation he has solemnly undertaken! First Theseus adds: 'If the oaths

<sup>1</sup> L. 113.  
<sup>3</sup> L. 612.

<sup>2</sup> L. 120.  
<sup>4</sup> L. 887.

<sup>5</sup> *Medea*, l. 263; *Iph. A.*, l. 542; *Iph. T.*, l. 1063; *Ion*, l. 666.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 893-898.

thou swearest be true,'<sup>1</sup> and then, to make sure in case they are not, he pronounces the sentence of exile, so that if one punishment does not succeed the other may. Scant respect here for his Ocean Father, truly!

Hippolytus now enters, and his father's wrath breaks loose upon him. The accusation and sentence of exile are repeated, but not the curse of Poseidon, which, it is worth noticing, Hippolytus himself has therefore not heard, since it was pronounced before his entry on the scene.

He defends himself as well as he can without breaking his oath of secrecy to the nurse. In the midst of his father's invective he remarks that one thing about Theseus' behaviour surprises him—namely, that being offended, as he believes, in such a sacred connexion, Theseus merely sends him into exile instead of taking his life, as Hippolytus frankly says he would have done himself to anyone that had dared dishonour him in such a way.<sup>2</sup>

This shows quite clearly, should any doubt remain, that Hippolytus had not heard the curse pronounced against him.

Theseus answers that death were too easy an end for such a sinner. He points to the testimony of the tablet.

Hippolytus cries :<sup>3</sup>

ὦ θεοί, τί δῆτα τούμονον οὐ λύω στόμα,  
δοτις γ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ σέβω, διόλλυμαι;  
οὐ δῆτα πάντως οὐ πίθοιμ' ἀν οὐδὲ με δεῖ,  
μάτην δ' ἀν ὄρκους συγχέαιμ' οὐδὲ ὡμοσα.

The dialogue continues. He calls on the very walls to witness to his innocence. Theseus ironically remarks that he is wise to call on voiceless witnesses, and orders the servants to cast him forth without more ado. With a farewell to his fatherland, Hippolytus departs.<sup>4</sup>

We notice that, since the beginning of the action at l. 176, the oath of Poseidon has only been mentioned once, in ll. 887-898, in the rather peculiar manner to which we have already drawn attention.

But now a Messenger arrives, telling how that oath has been fulfilled. It would seem that Hippolytus was driving along the road to Epidaurus, and had reached the shore of the Saronic Gulf when a great wave from the sea rushed at his chariot, and out of this wave there emerged a bull-shaped monster that kept coming in front of his team, until the horses bolted in a panic, broke one of the chariot-wheels against a stone, and dragged Hippolytus, who had fallen entangled in the reins, until he was mortally injured. The monster then suddenly vanished.

In the representation of this scene given on two Etruscan sarcophagi in the British Museum, the bull-monster is shown actually trampling on the prostrate body of the wretched Hippolytus: in other representations<sup>5</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> L. 890 above.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1041-1044.

trated in *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI., tav. 1-3, and

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 1060-1063.

<sup>4</sup> L. 1101.

described by Brunn, *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1857,

<sup>5</sup> The best known of these are the sarcophagus in the cathedral at Girgenti and the one illus-

pp. 36 sqq.

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monster is depicted as merely rising above the horses' heads and frightening them, as described in our play. Whichever method Poseidon adopted, he did his work thoroughly!

Theseus now orders that Hippolytus be brought in. A brief choral song to Eros the terrible and his mother Aphrodite brings us to the epilogue proper. Artemis appears.

She explains to the astonished and awe-struck Theseus how his wife had been enamoured of his son; how she had tried to control her passion, but, revealing it to her nurse, had been ruined by the well-meant plans of the old woman; how Hippolytus, being sworn to secrecy, had not disclosed the fact even when reviled by Theseus for a crime he had not committed; how Phaedra had written the lying tablet and thus brought disaster on Hippolytus by her wiles, succeeding in persuading Theseus of his guilt.

Theseus at this point remarks, 'Woe is me!'<sup>1</sup>

Artemis continues, telling him there is worse to come. She reminds him that he had called on Poseidon to fulfil one of the three wishes, and that Poseidon had now done so, being unable to help himself, bound as he was by his oath; and blames Theseus for too hastily hurling the curse upon his son and thus slaying him. She goes on, however, to lay the real responsibility for all these disasters on Aphrodite, and explains that among the gods none thwarts another ever, but stands aside and lets him do his will. Otherwise, of course, if she had not been afraid to ask Zeus, she would certainly have intervened to save her beloved Hippolytus.

A most interesting glimpse of the internal economy of Olympus this; but one cannot say much for the self-respect of a goddess who can thus excuse herself before a mortal.

Such an arrangement of the gods amongst themselves is not apparent with the Olympians of Homer, and I do not know on what authority Euripides places the statement in Artemis' mouth; but some reason is obviously necessary to explain the seemingly apathetic attitude of the goddess at a time when her faithful young worshipper's life is in danger and she, his chosen protectress, takes no steps whatever to save him.

Hippolytus is brought in, and Artemis speaks a few words to him, repeating that Aphrodite is to blame, regretting she may not weep for him, and making a few trite remarks.

This appearance of Artemis with her 'heavenly perfume' has been much admired, especially by Professor Wilamowitz, who says that 'for the Athenians this was the Artemis that dwelt on the cliff above the temple of Aphrodite, whom their daughters served as little children, and who had stood by their mothers and wives in their hour of need.'<sup>2</sup> Beyond the striking picturesqueness of the expression *θεῖον ὁδμῆς πνεῦμα*,<sup>3</sup> there does not, however, appear to be much to justify the fixing of any gulf between the Artemis of our play and the other gods of Euripides.

<sup>1</sup> After l. 1312.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> L. 1391.

The Apollo of the Ion can hardly have been for the Athenians the god to whom their young wives turned in faith and prayed for the gift of offspring.<sup>1</sup> This Artemis, who now excuses herself for not lifting a finger to save her follower,<sup>2</sup> then explains that she may not weep for him,<sup>3</sup> and further explains that she cannot comfort him as he dies,<sup>4</sup> is more bent on avenging the slight done her by Aphrodite and on assigning posthumous honours than on giving herself any trouble on behalf of Hippolytus himself.

Ovid's 'locus classicus'<sup>5</sup> (*Metamorphosis*, II. 621), to the effect that divine eyes may not be dimmed with tears, has been noticed as a derivation from this very passage of our play,<sup>6</sup> and the theory does not seem to be mentioned anywhere else; in fact, if we may believe the story told by Apollonius Rhodius<sup>7</sup> of the time when Apollo, being cast out of Olympus, came to the land of the Hyperboreans, it would appear that Apollo could, and did, then weep very effectively over his own troubles, so much so that his tears became amber-drops.

To return to the scene in our play. Hippolytus turns to his father and says he is far sorrier for him than for himself. Then he suddenly observes,<sup>8</sup>

ὦ δῶρα πατρὸς σοῦ Ποσειδῶνος πικρά.

Now we have seen that Hippolytus cannot know that his father had called on Poseidon to slay him, so this reference to the matter in his mouth looks like a very unfortunate oversight—a bad piece of 'botching' on the author's part.

Theseus replies,

ὦ μῆποτ' ἐλθεῖν ὥφελ' εἰς τούμὸν στόμα,

to which Hippolytus

τί δ'; ἔκτανές τὰν μ', ὡς τότ' ἡσθ' ὡργυσμένος,

and Theseus sadly answers,

δόξης γὰρ ἡμεν πρὸς θεῶν ἐσφαλμένοι.

Hippolytus then expresses a wish that the human race could curse the gods. Artemis cannot and does not approve of these high words; she warns him that if he is not careful Aphrodite will pursue him with her wrath even in Hades, but attempts to console him by telling him that she is planning a nice revenge on the Cyprian, that he, Hippolytus, will always be honoured in Troezen, and that, as long as men make poetry, Phaedra's love for him will not be forgotten.

In view of the subsequent efforts of Euripides, Seneca, Racine, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 138-176.

<sup>2</sup> L. 1331 above.

<sup>3</sup> L. 1396.

<sup>4</sup> L. 1437.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in reference to Hipp., l. 1396, by Weil (*Sept Tragédies d'Euripide*), Wecklein (*Ausgewählte Tragödien*, Vol. IV.), Hadley (*Hippolytus*, Pitt Press Series), and several Italian editions

(Balsamo, Florence, 1899; Pellini, Leghorn, 1915; Rossi, ed. Paravia, 1913; Onorato, Città di Castello, 1912).

<sup>6</sup> Monk, *Euripidis Fabulae Quattuor*, Cambridge, 1857 (2nd ed.).

<sup>7</sup> Arg. IV. 611.

<sup>8</sup> L. 1411.

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D'Annunzio,<sup>1</sup> it may be admitted that, in as far as this last item is concerned, Artemis has proved to be a true prophetess up to date.

The goddess now departs and after a brief dialogue in which Hippolytus forgives his father for causing his death, he passes away, and the play closes with the well-known lines supposed to be commemorative of the death of Pericles.<sup>2</sup>

## II.

I would suggest that the 'moral' of the Hippolytus is that 'circumstances alter cases,' and that this moral is pointed by two instances—one of a man, the other of a god who, by neglecting to take this true saying into account, bring about disastrous results exactly contrary to their original intentions and desires.

The man is Hippolytus; the god, Poseidon.

Hippolytus, the chaste and true, is loved by his stepmother Phaedra, who confides the fact to her nurse. The nurse, having extracted an oath that he will not repeat it, tells the fact to Hippolytus. Phaedra overhears the pious horror of Hippolytus. Her love for him turns to hate; she fears the dishonour of a revelation, and so hangs herself, leaving a letter in which she accuses Hippolytus of having outraged her. Theseus, her husband, finds the letter and bitterly upbraids Hippolytus, whom he sends into exile as a punishment for his immodesty and treachery.

Had Hippolytus, after Phaedra's death, only broken his promise and spoken, he could have cleared himself and all would have been well.

This is the story of the man—a purely human story, with no gods in it anywhere.

Now for the other.

The god Poseidon had granted his son Theseus, as a gift, three wishes which he had sworn to fulfil, whatever they might be. Theseus, on reading the letter falsely accusing his son Hippolytus of having outraged Phaedra, calls on Poseidon to fulfil one of his wishes and slay Hippolytus that very day. Poseidon, having sworn, does so, thus bringing deep sorrow on his own son Theseus.

Had Poseidon, who, as a god, of course knew the truth of the matter, only broken his promise and stayed his hand, all would have been well.

I would also suggest that Euripides had begun by pointing the moral in one story only, that of Hippolytus, leaving out Poseidon altogether; but that he had been rather too outspoken, and the ending, which left Hippolytus still under the accusation, was objected to by the critics.

He accordingly made a few alterations in the play; but to ensure that the original point should not be missed by the audience, he added the story of

<sup>1</sup> Lykophron also composed a *Hippolytus* (Suidas, s.v. Λυκόφρων). Pausanias (I. 22, 1) states that every barbarian who understood Greek had heard of the love of Phaedra for Hippolytus.

<sup>2</sup> Böckh, *Gr. trag. princ.*, p. 180. Euripides also makes reference to contemporary events in the closing words of the *Electra* (ll. 1347 sqq.); cf. *Class. Quart.*, Vol. XIX., p. 126.

Poseidon, grafting it on to the original tale and adding a last scene in which Hippolytus is absolved completely of all blame.

The play, thus modified, won the first prize.<sup>1</sup>

We do not possess the piece in its original form, which was known to the grammarians as '*Ιππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος*', and the few surviving fragments scarcely suffice to give even a vague idea of what the dramatic action of the play may have been. Certainly there are not many lines in our play quite as plain-spoken as the *ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁρθῶς τάτα κρίνουσιν θεοί* of Fragment 448 of the *Καλυπτόμενος*, but it must have been quite clear to its hearers that the moral it pointed was the same, and a violent outcry against such an opportunist view of the sanctity of oaths and promises was the inevitable result.<sup>2</sup> It was even made the principal head of an accusation of impiety against the author.<sup>3</sup>

It is now for me to show how my suggestion would account for the points I have raised in my rapid survey of the play as we have it.

If we remove the lines 887-898, the whole story of Hippolytus is contained in ll. 176-1101: a complete tale, with no mention of the oath of Poseidon in it at all.

If to this we add at the beginning the prologue of Aphrodite slightly modified (of course omitting ll. 43-46) and at the end the choral ode following the departure of Hippolytus into exile and the first part of the epilogue spoken by Artemis to Theseus (ll. 1285-1312), we have a play practically complete in itself, with prologue, action, and epilogue.

Something like this may have been the original version. The Fragment (438),

*τι δ', ἦν λυθεὶς με διαβάλγεις, παθεῖν σε δεῖ;*

sounds just like what Hippolytus might have said to the nurse after the death of Phaedra.

In the play as we have it the nurse vanishes after ordering the servants to lift up the body of Phaedra, which has been cut down from the noose;<sup>4</sup> but it would have been only natural for Hippolytus to approach her and ask her to testify in his favour when under the terrible accusation.

As it is, Theseus does not give him the chance of doing so: Hippolytus arrives at the palace, hears of Phaedra's death from Theseus himself, and is called upon to defend himself without preparation of any kind. To have the nurse called in as a witness would be to publish the very thing he had sworn to keep secret, for it would be equivalent to admitting that he—and she also—knew something that was being kept back.

It would appear that in the '*Ιππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος*' this situation was dealt with otherwise.

Let us now suppose the original story modified and the Poseidon part grafted on—prologue, epilogue, and the lines 887-898. We must admit that

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus, *ἱπόθεσις*.

<sup>2</sup> Aristophanes, *Frogs*, ll. 102 and 1471, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 786-787.

thus the whole Poseidon story has been introduced with a minimum of alteration to the body of the original play. The beginning and end of an Euripidean drama were always notoriously outside the real action and not meant to be taken seriously by the audience, and the addition in the middle is a mere interpolation not involving any change in the scenes either before or after.

Having introduced this story the author had to direct the attention of his audience to it, and to the fact that it was in some sort a parallel among the gods to what the rest of the play itself was among men.

Unless some very drastic step was taken the Athenian public, now thoroughly accustomed to the methods of their Euripides (for it was now ten years since the *Alcestis* had been first performed, we may remember), would certainly give but scant attention to the prologue, looking for the interest to begin after the first song of the Chorus. Something had to be done. And it was done.

The arresting lyric we have previously noticed was introduced. This, which marks the difference between the original *Hippolytus* and this amended version, was therefore fixed upon with reason by the grammarians as a means of distinguishing the two: hence Στεφανηφόρος. The name *Καλυπτόμενος*, assuming that Hippolytus died in the original version, as he does in the one we possess, might of course apply to either.

To return to the prologue of our play.

The two lines spoken by Hippolytus' follower are calculated to fix the attention even more.<sup>1</sup> Then comes the mention of a law, a law of men, which we are to notice may or may not apply to gods as well. This is obviously not the thing the man speaks of: we have already noticed that that cannot be called a law or even a rule, and in any case he proceeds at once to misapply it in a way that does not emphasize its point—if it has one. Yet the attention of the audience is carefully directed to it.

I suggest that the Athenian public would not have taken long to discover that the law referred to is none other than that of the sanctity of oaths and promises binding to men as to gods.<sup>2</sup>

And in interpreting this law, as in other things also,

*σοφωτέρους χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς.*<sup>3</sup>

This last phrase receives considerable emphasis, no less than that of being the last line of the prologue before the entry of the Chorus.

The line in which Hippolytus professes himself unbound by his oath must have at once made a deep impression on his hearers; and their feelings must have been of unmitigated condemnation, for there is no excuse whatever for Hippolytus to break his word here, except to pose as an unusually pure-minded man—we should say, to behave like a prig.

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 88-89.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Decharme, *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théâtre*, p. 101: 'Cette obligation (sc. du serment) passait jadis pour si forte qu'elle enchainait, disait-on, les dieux eux-mêmes.' He

quotes Theog. 793 in support, but overlooks the Poseidon episode in the *Hippolytus*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Iph. Aul.*, l. 394:

*οὐ γὰρ ἀδύνατο τὸ θεῖον, δλλ' ἔχει συνιέναι τοὺς κακῶς παγέντας δρόκους καὶ κατηραγκασμένους.*

It is possible that later on, when difficulties hedge him about, the audience will call to mind this sudden exclamation, and be perhaps almost inclined to admit that if Hippolytus were to act on it then he would be doing well.

Now we come to the point where the finding of the fatal tablet brings up the Poseidon episode. It is this which is going to bring about the death of Hippolytus, but at the same time it must be interpolated so as not to interfere with the story as it stands—with sentence of exile as the punishment imposed by Theseus on his erring son. If Theseus calls on his father Poseidon to perform an oath he has solemnly sworn to him by slaying Hippolytus in fulfilment of one of the three wishes, there is obviously no necessity to pass a sentence of exile on him as well.

But Euripides knows what he is about. This is where the neat thrust at Poseidon, the god of Delphi, is to come in.

He makes Theseus doubt whether the god will keep his word. The masterly skill of this piece of insolence—one can call it no less—is worth considering.

Firstly, it does away at a stroke with the necessity for making any further mention of the oath in the body of the play, even to Hippolytus himself; for why should Theseus take any further notice of an imprecation uttered suddenly in a moment of stress, and of whose power to harm he is himself doubtful?

In the second place, it points out in the neatest manner possible the uncomfortable position of Poseidon: for either he stands by his oath, and in that case he is sending to his death a man whom he, as a god, knows to be innocent, and to have fallen under the curse owing to a misapprehension on the part of Theseus; or else, availing himself of the superior wisdom of a god (*σοφωτέρους γὰρ χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς*), he stays his hand, and so doing breaks his own solemn oath.

It is a situation calculated to make the intellectual Athenian chuckle with joy as soon as it dawned upon him; and the doubt expressed by Theseus in so many words was just what was required to make him realize it.

A few moments later we behold Hippolytus in a similar quandary: if he keeps his mouth shut he goes into exile under the accusation, apparently proved up to the hilt by the tablet and practically unanswered by himself, of treachery and immodesty—the two sins that he holds to be the worst of all, as we know: if he speaks, he breaks his oath. His reflection that even if he did speak he could not convince his father is obviously a case of self-persuasion—Hippolytus trying to strengthen himself in the face of temptation—for his father was even then discussing the matter with him, and the nurse was a living witness to the truth. Theseus' words about 'voiceless witnesses' must have sounded very bitter.

With the departure of Hippolytus into exile and the entry of the Messenger and recital of his cock-and-bull—or, rather, wave-and-bull—yarn, the audience must have realized that the human part of the play was at an end. In fact, Artemis appears. Her statement of the facts is divided by Theseus'

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exclamation just at the point where the human story ends and the 'divine' story—the Poseidon part—is about to begin. Attention is thus brought to it again.

The line of action adopted by Poseidon in abiding by his oath and sacrificing the innocent Hippolytus is ironically approved, as is that of Hippolytus in keeping silence and sacrificing himself. The whole blame is for a moment—and most reasonably too—put on Theseus for pronouncing the curse in such a hurry in the first place.

But no; after all it's really all Aphrodite's fault, not his, so he needn't worry about it. This is the epilogue, and 'the gods,' as usual, are having a bad time of it. The Athenians are smiling.

Having three times already drawn attention to the Poseidon story by bits of sheer bravado—first in the lyric ode in the prologue, then by making Theseus openly doubt the god's solemn oath, and, lastly, by making him interpose an apparently casual exclamation in Artemis' discourse—Euripides now gives us what is perhaps the most daring and clever piece of stage work in the whole play.

Hippolytus, who knows nothing whatever of the curse Theseus has called down upon him, suddenly cries out :

*ὦ δῶρα πατρὸς σοῦ Ποσειδῶνος πικρά.*

He could not be thinking of the three wishes; but in view of what we have already seen, his meaning is really obvious: he has recognized in the wave-cum-bull combination—as anyone would—some device of the Sea-god's, and hence his own accident as a 'bitter gift of Poseidon'!

And the remark of Theseus, who, like the audience, thinks at once of the three wishes,

*ὦ μήποτ' ἐλθεῖν ὥφελ' εἰς τούμπον στόμα,*

comes as a veritable bombshell to him. He only now realizes what Theseus has done :

*τί δ'; ἔκτανές τὰν μ', ὦς τότ' ἡσθ' ὠργισμένος,*

which we would translate: 'What? Wouldst even have slain me? To such a point wert thou then angered!'

Theseus groans, 'The gods deceived me!' Hippolytus, in the sudden revelation of the injury that has been done, expresses a lively desire to curse the gods at large—and no wonder!

The effect of this culminating scene on the quick Athenians must have been electrical; and the tumult of cheering that broke out at the end, though gracefully taken by Euripides as a tribute to the memory of Pericles, must have been a whole-hearted testimony, confirmed by the bestowal of the first prize, to one of the finest pieces of work of the most consummate artist of the Hellenic stage.

J. A. SPRANGER.

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## THE POLICY OF CLODIUS FROM 58 TO 56 B.C.

THE motive of Clodius in attacking the validity of Caesar's laws in the latter part of 58 B.C. has been the subject of many conjectures on the part of modern historians. In a recent article<sup>1</sup> Pocock has propounded a new theory as to the position and policy of the turbulent tribune, which is highly suggestive and deserving of a careful consideration. In the first place Pocock, in opposition to all previous historians, flatly denies that Clodius made any such attack at all, and offers a new explanation of the passage in Cicero's speech for his house where this is asserted. In the oration in question Cicero declares that Clodius called Bibulus before the people and by the testimony of the former consul showed that all Caesar's laws had been passed in disregard of the auspices, drawing from this the conclusion that they should all be annulled by the senate. If the conscript fathers would do this, Clodius offered to bring Cicero back on his own shoulders as the saviour of his country.<sup>2</sup> Pocock believes that Cicero has flagrantly misrepresented Clodius and wilfully distorted his meaning. Some of Cicero's friends had denied the legality of Clodius' tribuneship and hence of the great orator's exile, and what Clodius did was to demonstrate that this denial logically involved the repudiation of all the Julian legislation. His offer to bring back Cicero was an ironical defiance, and amounted to telling the nobles that they had better not raise such a question unless they had the courage to cancel all Caesar's laws, something which he knew that they would not dare to do. Such an interpretation is not without plausibility, but it must be remembered that in another speech addressed to the senate, Cicero repeats the story and declares that Clodius had attacked the Julian laws both in that body and in the popular assembly.<sup>3</sup> Certainly we cannot trust implicitly in Cicero's fairness or veracity in his orations, but there were limits beyond which he could not safely venture to misrepresent his opponents. He would hardly dare to make, or publish, assertions which his audience could not help knowing to be flagrantly untrue. In his speeches he does not claim to quote private conversations of Clodius, but to narrate events of public notoriety. Every one in Rome must have known whether or not Clodius had openly attacked the validity of Caesar's laws, and for Cicero to lie about the matter would simply have rendered him ridiculous. It seems to me incredible that the orator's mendacity, or misrepresentation, can have been carried to such a length, and I think that we must accept the attack on the Julian legislation as having been really made.

<sup>1</sup> Pocock, L. G., *Publius Clodius and the Acts of Caesar*, in the *Classical Quarterly*, XVIII., 1924.

<sup>2</sup> *De Domo*. XV., Heitland, *The Roman Republic*, III., p. 173, has expressed doubts as to

the reliability of Cicero in the details, but accepts the fact of an attack on Caesar's laws.

<sup>3</sup> *De Har. Resp.* XXIII.

This leaves us under the necessity of seeking some explanation unless, with Cicero, we are to regard Clodius as an irresponsible madman.

The rest of Pocock's theory seems to me to come close to the truth, though still just missing it. He believes that from 58 to 56 Clodius was acting in Caesar's interest. Pompey was an untrustworthy partner, and Caesar feared that if the general were allowed to rally a party of his own he would abandon the triumvirate and go over to the senate. To prevent this Caesar instructed Clodius to 'keep Pompey's comb cut,' and the reckless tribune exceeded his employer's intentions. His attacks on Pompey were meant at first to discredit the great general and to keep Cicero in exile lest the orator should succeed in reconciling Pompey and the senate. Later the violence of Clodius was designed to prevent such a coalition.

There is certainly some truth in this reading of the situation. Pompey had undoubtedly been ill at ease and anxious to regain the friendship of the nobles in the latter part of Caesar's consulship,<sup>1</sup> and Caesar, who can hardly have been blind to this, may well have felt that his unsteady partner needed watching. It seems to me, however, that there are some weak points in Pocock's theory. First and foremost was Caesar the real head of the popular party during his absence in Gaul and was Clodius his lieutenant? His leadership has generally been taken for granted, but there are some difficulties in the way. From the passage of the Manilian law till Pompey's return from the East, Crassus and Caesar had been engaged in a series of intrigues against the absent general. In these Caesar acted as the political manager of Crassus, to whom, when he left Rome for his praetorship in Spain, he was heavily in debt. There can be little doubt that both men had indulged in lavish expenditure to get control of the clubs and associations of voters which constituted the party machine of the democrats. Did Crassus part with his money without a *quid pro quo*? Did he pay out large sums to build up a political machine solely for Caesar's benefit? For myself I cannot believe that the millionaire was so disinterested in his friendship, and I think it practically certain that Crassus took care to secure for himself a very large control over the democratic party. The trial of Clodius for sacrilege seems very significant in this connexion. Caesar's attitude in this matter is well known, but it is always explained as though Caesar were a perfectly free agent. We should remember, however, that it was Crassus who bribed the jury to acquit Clodius,<sup>2</sup> and that soon afterwards the millionaire assumed the responsibility for Caesar's debts to a huge amount.<sup>3</sup> This strongly suggests that Clodius was a henchman of Crassus, and if this were so it would furnish another explanation of Caesar's attitude.

Before his consulship, therefore, there seems some reason to think that Caesar was by no means the unquestioned head of the democrats. When the time came for him to leave Rome for Gaul his arrangements for the government

<sup>1</sup> *Att.* II. 22 and 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Att.* I. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Caesar* XI., says for 830 talents.

seem somewhat strange. The consuls for 58 were Gabinius, a supporter of Pompey, and Piso, Caesar's father-in-law. Crassus appears to have been entirely ignored, unless we assume that Clodius was really his lieutenant. This seems from every point of view a probable conjecture. It is unlikely that Crassus would consent to be left without some share of the spoils, and Caesar was aware that Pompey was, from his point of view, more or less untrustworthy. Under the circumstances it would be a natural course for Caesar to turn over his share of the democratic machine to Crassus and to rely on him and his tribune to hold Pompey in line. To assume such an arrangement will supply a reasonable explanation of the subsequent course of events.

With Caesar gone the old enmity between Pompey and Crassus soon revived, as there were few common interests to bind the two together. Clodius probably had little love for Pompey, who had long held out against the banishment of Cicero,<sup>1</sup> and he may have attacked the great general of his own accord. Crassus, if he did not instigate the hostile moves of Clodius, was not displeased at seeing Pompey humiliated, and made no effort to restrain the tribune. It is very likely, as Pocock suggests, that Clodius went too far, and Pompey in his anger began seriously to seek a reconciliation with the nobles. As a means to this end he brought forward the proposal to recall Cicero, a measure which he knew the conservatives would eagerly support. The result was a temporary coalition which was successful in the elections for 57. One of the consuls was a tool of Pompey and the other a conservative. Among the other magistrates Crassus and Clodius were only able to secure one praetor and two tribunes. Their position was still further weakened when the mobs of Clodius began to be checked by the rival mobs of Milo, and they were finally forced to recognize that the recall of Cicero was inevitable. It was under these circumstances that Clodius raised the question of the validity of Caesar's laws, and his purpose may, I think, be reasonably conjectured. There is, however, one point which it is necessary to bear in mind to understand his move.

It seems to be always taken for granted that the triumvirs were all equally interested in maintaining the Julian legislation, but this was by no means the case. Caesar himself was not in the least benefited by his own laws because he had taken care to have all measures affecting him brought forward by others, especially by Vatinius. Now to annul the laws of Caesar did not necessarily cancel the Vatinian law. It is true that it could be declared void on the same grounds as the Julian laws, but it would have to be considered and acted on separately by the senate. In such matters the conscript fathers were not bound to be severely logical, and it was possible for the senate to annul all Caesar's laws while leaving those of Vatinius on the statute book. Now the chief gainer by the Julian legislation was Pompey, and he would be the chief

<sup>1</sup> In 59 Clodius had threatened an attack on Caesar's laws (*Att.* II. 12 and 22). This was probably a device of Caesar and Crassus to extort Pompey's consent to the banishment of Cicero.

loser if these laws were declared null and void. It is true that Caesar had put through a profitable bargain for the knights, in which Crassus was more or less interested, but the knights had probably by this time reaped the profit, and the annulling of the law would not of itself force them to disgorge their gains. It is, therefore, possible that Crassus would lose little or nothing by the repudiation of Caesar's acts. Pompey's situation was, however, very different. Among the Julian laws were two for the benefit of Pompey's veterans and one ratifying his eastern *acta*. If Caesar's legislation were cancelled he would lose most, if not all, of what he had joined the triumvirate to secure. Thus, while the conservatives could not without stultifying themselves support the validity of Caesar's laws, Pompey could not permit them to be questioned. To raise the issue was, therefore, an excellent device for driving a wedge between the general and the senate and for breaking up their temporary alliance. Whatever happened to the laws it was not certain that either Caesar or Crassus would lose much, and their position was such that they could well afford to take some chances.

Crassus and Clodius must have realized that a permanent coalition between Pompey and the nobles would be a very serious danger to them. Pompey's importance did not rest chiefly on the support of a party, though he unquestionably had a considerable following among the voters, but on his military reputation and his popularity with the classes from which Rome drew the volunteers for her legions. If he and the senate were once cordially allied the mobs of Clodius would be powerless. All that the senate needed to do was to pass the last decree and to have friendly consuls appoint Pompey as their legate to restore order. This done the democrats could be easily and quickly crushed, Clodius punished for his sins, and Crassus rendered helpless. It may safely be assumed that the two men thus menaced were far-sighted enough to see the danger and were anxious to avert it. The policy which they adopted is clear if we but keep in mind the end at which they aimed. Clodius raised the question of the Julian laws, hoping to sow dissension between Pompey and the senate; and Crassus exerted all his influence in secret among the conscript fathers with the same purpose in view. If they could once succeed in isolating Pompey they might so harass him that he would be driven back to the triumvirate from which he was trying to secede. Along these lines they fought steadily and persistently. Clodius and his mob raged in the streets of Rome with apparent recklessness, but in all his violence he was careful to abstain from any attack upon the nobles in general. The recall of Cicero, however, was successfully carried in spite of his exertions, and was a joint triumph for Pompey and the senate. The conservatives, perhaps with the help of Clodius and Crassus, were able to secure the lion's share of the fruits of victory. In the elections for 56 they returned both the consuls<sup>1</sup> and a majority of the other magistrates, though Pompey and Clodius alike had

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Cato minor*, 39 and *Q. Fr.* II. 6.

friends among the new tribunes. Crassus was content to work under cover and to leave the responsibility to his lieutenants in case of failure.

The nobles were elated at a success which was probably greater than they had anticipated, and were still further encouraged by the obvious disruption of the triumvirate. While the struggle over Cicero's recall had been going on the conservatives had refrained from taking up the question of Caesar's laws. No sooner had the orator returned, however, than they seized upon the bait which Clodius had thrown them. The tribunes for 56 had hardly entered on their duties (in December of 57) than one of them raised the question of the Campanian land which was to have been distributed under Caesar's second agrarian law, probably chiefly for the benefit of Pompey's veterans. For some reason the distribution had not yet taken place, and if the law could be annulled immediately this valuable domain, the sacrifice of which the nobles had bitterly resented, might still be saved to the state. At the moment the question was not pushed, but the conservatives had served notice that they meant to follow the lead which Clodius had given them.

Meantime Rome was suffering from a scarcity of food, and the mob, in spite of Clodius, was clamouring that Pompey should be given charge of the corn supply. On this point the senate, willingly or unwillingly, was forced to yield. But two bills on the subject were presented to the house, one drawn up by the consuls and the other by a tribune who was a supporter of Pompey. The consular bill was sweeping in its provisions, but it was moderate in comparison with that of the tribune, which gave Pompey an army and the most extravagant powers. The general professed to be entirely satisfied with the consular measure, but his friends worked for the other.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt which of the two Crassus favoured, and the moderate bill was easily enacted. Thus Pompey had been thwarted by the senate and was unable to resent it, since the conscript fathers had given him all he asked while refusing what he really desired.

Having failed to obtain the command of an army in connexion with the charge of the corn supply, Pompey now sought to find a pretext for one in a commission to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt. That worthless monarch had recently been driven from his kingdom by his subjects, and was now trying to secure his reinstatement at the hands of Rome and Pompey. When the matter was brought up, however, a tribune allied with Crassus discovered an oracle which forbade the restoration of an Egyptian king by an army. Out of jealousy of Pompey the senate seized on this religious pretext,<sup>2</sup> and the general was unable to obtain a commission to interfere in Egypt on any terms whatever.

While the nobles were thus alienating Pompey they took care to abstain from any attack on Caesar. At the beginning of 56 they voted a thanksgiving of unprecedented length for his victories in Gaul. Ferrero believes that

<sup>1</sup> *Att. IV. 1.*

<sup>2</sup> *Fam. I. 1.*

they were carried away by the popular enthusiasm,<sup>1</sup> but such honours as had been given Pompey would surely have been enough to satisfy the people. The unprecedented distinctions heaped on Caesar seem rather to be due to a desire to diminish the prestige of Pompey and to intimate to Caesar that the senate was willing to forgive his past offences, and that he need not fear for himself, whatever happened to his laws.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the nobles showed a marked tolerance for Clodius. Cicero later complained that they openly caressed that turbulent politician,<sup>3</sup> and when a dependent of his, Sex. Clodius, was brought to trial he was acquitted by the votes of the senators on the jury.<sup>4</sup>

It would seem that for the moment the conservatives had joined hands with Crassus and Caesar against Pompey. Such an attitude may be easier to understand if we remember that during Caesar's consulship Pompey had seemed to the Romans to be the head of the triumvirate.<sup>5</sup> Caesar had trampled the constitution under foot mainly to gratify Pompey, and the resentment of the nobles was directed more strongly against the main offender than against his accomplice. Moreover, the danger from Caesar did not yet appear very imminent. He and his army were far away while Pompey was near at hand. If Pompey could secure an army he would be in a better position to make himself dictator than Caesar. Very probably they hoped to attack one enemy at a time, and were willing to leave Caesar unmolested until they had effectually disposed of Pompey. Caesar was well able to comprehend their motives and was unlikely to put much confidence in their good will, but, unless he could find means to renew the triumvirate, he might be forced to trust the senate in spite of himself.

While Crassus was exerting his influence in the senate to thwart Pompey, Clodius was assailing the general with the utmost violence in the streets. The famous scene at the trial of Milo need not be recited in detail, but one or two points in Cicero's account of it are suggestive. The orator absented himself from the senate, where his party were attacking Pompey, for fear of giving offence by defending the general. Moreover, Pompey confided to him that Crassus was supporting his enemies and supplying them with money. Pompey declared further that plots were being formed against his life, and that he feared being completely crushed by Clodius.<sup>6</sup> Insulted by the mob, with the senate and nobility hostile, Pompey was reduced to desperation. The con-

<sup>1</sup> *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, II. 38. According to Cicero, *de Prov. Cons.* XI., Pompey approved the unprecedented honours, probably because he saw that they would be voted anyway.

<sup>2</sup> It may be of interest to note that, in his speech against Vatinius, Cicero not only refrained from any attack on Caesar, but declared that the proconsul of the Gauls was trusting his case to the senate. Writing to Lentulus Spinther the orator later affirms that at this time Caesar was supporting the senate (*Fam.* I. 9) and that Pompey had likewise been won over. In a letter to Lentulus, Cicero may not have been entirely candid, especially as he was seeking to

justify himself, but his acts confirm his words. He evidently believed that both Caesar and Pompey would acquiesce in a conservative revival. This idea was not wholly wild. If his own position were not touched Caesar cared little about the Campanian land and Pompey alone was helpless. I think, however, that, in his attack on Vatinius, Cicero allowed his personal feelings to run away with him and went beyond the program of his party.

<sup>3</sup> *Fam.* I. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Q. Fr.* II. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero's letters during 59 show this clearly.

<sup>6</sup> *Q. Fr.* II. 3.

servatives, exultant and confident, now began the long deferred attack on the Campanian land law in earnest. This cut Pompey to the quick, but he gave no outward sign of displeasure.<sup>1</sup> Probably he did not dare to risk another humiliating defeat in the senate, and felt that nothing was left for him but to try and come to terms with Caesar and Crassus. If this should prove impossible he would have to shape his course as best he could, if necessary giving up the Campanian land in the hope of placating the nobles. Instead, therefore, of making a vain attempt to resist the clamour of the senate he betook himself to Luca, and there succeeded in arranging a renewal of the triumvirate. If Crassus and Clodius had blundered in driving Pompey over to the senate, they had averted the possible consequences of the mistake by forcing him to seek a new understanding with Caesar and themselves. The influence of Crassus, the violence of Clodius, and the question of the validity of Caesar's laws had all been skilfully used to accomplish this result, and the agreement at Luca was the triumph of the policy which they had consistently followed for the past two years.

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## TENES.

FROM time to time the figure of Tenes or Tennes, the eponymous hero of Tenedos, intrudes itself into discussions of larger matters connected with Greek religion, usually in order to lend support to some imaginative theory. As one of the latest examples might be instanced Dr. A. B. Cook's *Zeus* II., pp. 654 sqq. It is as well, however, to be certain as to the precise evidential value which attaches to the stories about Tenes before employing them to buttress further hypotheses. A little intensive study of these traditions will therefore not be unprofitable, even if the result should be almost wholly negative. For in that event we may be spared the trouble of placing much reliance upon edifices erected upon sand.

The story of Tenes<sup>1</sup> falls naturally into three sections, which for the convenience of reference I will call (i.) *The advent of Tenes*; (ii.) *The further adventures of Kyknos*; and (iii.) *The death of Tenes*.

(i.) Kyknos, king of Kolonoi on the Anatolian coast, married Prokleia, a princess of the Trojan royal house,<sup>2</sup> by whom he had two children, Tenes and Hemithea. In some versions Tenes, though supposedly the son of Kyknos, was really the son of Apollo. After the death of Prokleia Kyknos married a second wife, Philonome, the daughter of Tragasos, who is the eponym of Tragasaki in the Troad. The wicked stepmother tried in vain to seduce the virtuous Tenes, and enraged at her failure, persuaded Kyknos that he had attempted to violate her. In this crime she was abetted by the false witness of a flute-player named Molpos or Eumolpos. Believing in his son's guilt, Kyknos exposed Tenes, together with his sister Hemithea, in a chest upon the sea. The chest was eventually cast up by the waves upon the shores of the island Leukophrys, the inhabitants of which immediately made Tenes their king. In consequence of this the name of the island was changed from Leukophrys to Tenedos.

(ii.) Kyknos subsequently discovered the truth; he stoned the flute-player and buried Philonome alive. He then sailed for Tenedos in order to seek his son's forgiveness. Here two alternative versions divide: (A) Tenes with an axe cut the hawser which moored his father's boat to the shore, and hence arose the proverbial saying 'Tenedian axe' for hasty and drastic action; (B) Kyknos was reconciled with his children, settled with them on Tenedos, and with them was subsequently killed by Achilles.

(iii.) Of the death of Tenes there are two alternative versions:

X. The Greek fleet on its way to Troy put in at Tenedos, and Tenes endeavoured to keep them off with stones. Achilles landed and, though he had been warned by

<sup>1</sup> Relevant to the discussion of the story are Lykophron, *Alexandra* 232 sqq. with Tzetzes and Scholia, Herakleides Ponticus VII. (Mueller, *F.H.G.* II., pp. 213-214), Konon, *Narr.* 28 (Jacoby, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* I., p. 199), Apollodorus, *Epitome* III. 23-26; Strabo XIII. 604; Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 28; Pausanias X. 14; Diodorus V. 83; Steph. Byz. s.v. Τένεος (quoting Aristotle, *Constitution of the Tenedians* and Aristides of Miletus), the Scholia to *Iliad* I. 38; Eustathius, *Iliad*, p. 33, 23; and *Odyssey*, 1697, 54, and the glosses of the lexicographers and paroemiographers on the proverbial sayings,

Τενέδος δινθρωπος, Τ. αὐλητής, Τ. βέλος, Τ. ξυνήγο-  
πος, Τ. πέλεκυς.

<sup>2</sup> The variations in the exact relationship of Prokleia to Laomedon or the alternative names in the Homeric commentators such as Skamandrioke for Prokleia (Schol. *Il.* I. 38; elsewhere Skamandrioke is the mother of Kyknos, Tzetzes, Lykophr. 231), and Polyboia (Eustath. 33, 23, Schol. D. *Il.* I. 38), or Kalyke (Schol. A. *Il.* I. 38), for Philonome have no importance for our purposes. Where they are not blunders they depend upon theoretical reconstruction of Homeric genealogies.

his mother Thetis not to kill a son of Apollo, or not to kill Tenes who was a son of or peculiarly dear to Apollo, for if he did Apollo would slay him, he slew Tenes as he defended his country.

Y. Achilles landed on Tenedos and pursued Hemithea, who was very beautiful. Tenes was killed in defence of his sister's honour. She, pursued by Achilles, was swallowed up by the earth. Now Thetis had given Achilles a squire, who was charged with the duty of reminding him of his mother's warning. Although present he had failed in his duty, and when Achilles realized that he had killed Tenes and recalled the warning, he cut down the inefficient slave.

The story that Achilles killed Tenes was used as the *aition* of a taboo against mentioning the name of Achilles in the shrine of Tenes. The story of the flute-player explained the rule that no flute-player might enter the shrine.

That a cult of Tenes existed in Tenedos, of course, is certain. Tenes serves as one of Cicero's examples of mortals who have become gods,<sup>1</sup> and the name perhaps occurred to him because the carrying off of the cult statue from the island had figured in his catalogue of Verres' enormities.<sup>2</sup> But for all that Tenes is a purely fictitious eponym who has been invented primarily to explain the name Tenedos, *οἰνεῖ Τενέδος*.

Almost without exception the authorities who narrate the story of Tenes and Hemithea, to whom we may add Pliny, *N.H.* V. 140, explain that the island, previously named Leukophrys, was called from Tenes Tenedos. It may be noticed, however, in passing that the authority of Hecataeus, which is often claimed for the story of Tenes and Hemithea (e.g. by Giessen, *Philologus*, LX., p. 469, or by Dr. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 673) is not admissible. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τένεδος* (= Jacoby, *Fv. Hist. Gr.* 1, F. 139) reads *νήσος τῶν Σποράδων*, ὡς 'Εκαταῖος, ἐν 'Ελλησπόντῳ. Here the authority of Hecataeus would seem to end with the stop, nor can it be guaranteed for the following sentence, *ἀπὸ Τέννου καὶ Ἀμφιθέας ἢ Ἡμιθέας κ.τ.λ.* In fact, the alternative names for Tenes' sister, a characteristic which is frequent but only in late authorities, makes it improbable that these words can be from Hecataeus. Actually the first literary authority for the existence of the story, which is known, was the lost pseudo-Euripidean play *Tennes*, which was written at the end of the fifth century possibly by Kritias.<sup>3</sup>

The words Tenes and Tenedos are undoubtedly related. But equally certainly Fick<sup>4</sup> must be right in supposing that Tenes is derived from Tenedos, not, as the Greeks thought, Tenedos from Tenes. This Dr. Cook rather surprisingly welcomes. That Tenedos is the pre-Greek name for the island which survived the attempts of early Greek voyagers to replace it by the Greek name Leukophrys can hardly be doubted. Fick quotes examples of the recurrence of the name in Lycia and Pamphylia. The first part of it, I venture to suggest, may perhaps be recognized in Tenages, the Rhodian name of the Heliad whom other Greeks called Phaethon, and the name also of a small island off the Troad.<sup>5</sup>

Of the cult of Tenes we know no further facts beyond the theft of the cult image and the two taboos mentioned above. It can hardly be questioned that Farnell is right in supposing that the taboo upon mentioning the name of Achilles could not be prior to the epic.<sup>6</sup> If, as I am inclined to believe, the legend of Tenes is an artificial compilation of elements adapted from hints in the epics at a relatively late date, it will be very much later. Actually there is no known trace in any surviving epic source of any knowledge of Tenes, and the circumstances of his death

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *de nat. deor.* III. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Malten in *Pauly-Wissowa*, VII., pp. 2849-52,

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *in Verr.* II. 1, 49.

s.v. *Heliadai*, Hoefer in *Roscher, Lexikon* V.,

<sup>3</sup> Preller-Robert, *Heldenage*, pp. 386-7.

p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> Farnell, *Hero Cults*, p. 341.

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at the hands of Achilles look suspiciously like a reduplication of the slaying of Kyknos by that hero. A close parallel to the taboo is provided by the rule at the sanctuary of Asklepios at Pergamos. 'Though they begin the hymns with Telephos (the father of Eurypylos), they say not a word about Eurypylos in them; indeed, they will not even name him in the temple, because they know he was the murderer of Machaon.'<sup>1</sup>

The other taboo in general character resembles that which forbade the entry of a *keryx* into the shrine of Okridion at Rhodes.<sup>2</sup> In both cases an official who was normally present at a Greek sacrifice<sup>3</sup> was not allowed to participate in a specific cult. Flute-playing, like the use of garlands, was normal in Greek cult, and the absence of the flute and garland was a sign of mourning.<sup>4</sup> It is one of the peculiarities which struck the Greek observer as remarkable, that at Persian sacrifices no flutes or garlands were used.<sup>5</sup> But exceptions to the general rule existed: θυσίας μὲν γὰρ ἀχόρους καὶ ἀνάύλους ἵσμεν, οὐκ ἵσμεν δ' ἀμνθον οὐδὲ ἀψεύδη ποίσων.<sup>6</sup> In the cult of the Charites at Paros no flutes or garlands were used, because, it was said, Minos received the news of the death of Androgeos when sacrificing to them.<sup>7</sup>

The story of the flute-player accomplice of Philonome is first given by Lykophron, but its occurrence, together with a mention of the taboo in Herakleides, makes it probable that it was found in Aristotle, *Constitution of the Tenedians*. The taboo is also mentioned by Plutarch and Diodorus. In Apollodorus, Plutarch and the Scholion on Lykophron the villain is given a name, the form of which, however, Molpos or Eumolpos, is professional rather than individual.

So much for the extent of our certain knowledge about the cult of Tenes. One negative point may be added. There is no traditional evidence whatever to connect Tenes either with Zeus or with Dionysos. The only possible link, a very weak one indeed, is that one of the hypothetical explanations of the Janiform head upon the coins of Tenedos suggests that it represents the bearded Dionysos and Ariadne, an identification which in turn rests solely upon the presence of the bunch of grapes and amphora in association with the double axe of the reverse upon coins minted after 420 B.C., and the known existence of a cult of Dionysos Pelekus in Thessaly.<sup>8</sup> As against this very fragile link must be placed the absolute unanimity of tradition which associates Tenes with Apollo. He is the son of Kyknos, who took his name from Apollo's bird, the swan; Apollodorus and a number of the later authorities state that though nominally the son of Kyknos he was really the son of Apollo; the warning given by Thetis to Achilles was either to beware of slaying a son of Apollo, or to beware of slaying Tenes, who was a son of, or was especially dear to, Apollo. What value the statement of Aristeides of Miletus (*ap. Steph. Byz. loc. cit.*) may have, that the cult statue of Apollo in Tenedos carried a double axe, is doubtful. The authority of the forerunner of Petronius and Apuleius is not conclusive for the exactness of a statement about a specific local cult. Indeed, it may possibly have arisen simply out of the knowledge that Tenes was traditionally associated with Apollo, for by the time of Aristeides Tenes had become associated with every Tenedian peculiarity, including the double axe of the coins and of the proverb. It is not, therefore, good evidence, though the statement may possibly be true. An Apollo with a double axe occurs upon coins of Eumeneia, but the analogy does not much help us, for

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias III. 26, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 27.

<sup>3</sup> For the *keryx* as a normal official of sacrifice see Athenaeus, XIV. 79, 660, and the references in Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Stengel, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus I. 132.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *de aud. poet.* II. 16c. Cf. Plutarch, *non poss. suau. iuu. sec. Epicur.* 21, 8, 1102A.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch, *præc. san.* 19, 132E, Apollod. III. 15, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, 2nd. ed., p. 551.

Eumeneia was a foundation of Attalus II. of Pergamum.<sup>1</sup> But whether Aristeides' statement is true or false, in neither case is it discordant with the rest of tradition, which associates Tenes with Apollo and with no other god.

Let us next consider Hemithea. Of a cult of Hemithea in Tenedos there is no direct evidence whatever. It may also be noticed that Dr. Cook's somewhat confident deductions as to her character as an underworld goddess<sup>2</sup> rest upon a detail in the story, which is in all probability a Hellenistic addition. It is not impossible, however, that a cult of Hemithea may have existed. Lykophron 229 attests a Tenedian cult of Palaimon, whom he calls *βρεφοκτόνος*, because, as the Scholiast explains, infants were sacrificed to him. This epithet but adds to our difficulties. I should agree with Farnell that Moloch will not help us here. For though the evidence for Palaimon *βρεφοκτόνος* is not earlier than Lykophron, the ritual may probably be associated with a whole series of Ino-Palaimon legends, which were undoubtedly current in the Greek world at an early date. But the equation Melikertes = Melkart is at best a product of the *theokrasia*, and quite inadmissible for earlier than Hellenistic times. I am not altogether happy about Farnell's explanation of the ritual of apotheosis in the cauldron,<sup>3</sup> but can suggest nothing better.

But, however that may be, we have a cult of Palaimon attested for Tenedos. Now Weizsäcker's theory<sup>4</sup> of the original independence of Ino-Leukothea and Melikertes-Palaimon is almost certainly wrong. The apparent worship of one of these figures alone in specific cults is probably due merely to the relative emphasis laid upon one or other of the pair in particular places. Wherever our knowledge of the detail is at all adequate, the figure of the other always appears in the background, as at the shrine of Palaimon at Corinth which contained a statue of Leukothea.<sup>5</sup> Ino-Leukothea and Melikertes-Palaimon seem in fact to be an inseparable divine pair.<sup>6</sup> If, therefore, a Palaimon was worshipped at Tenedos, a Leukothea is likely to have had at least a subordinate place in the cult.

But that Hemithea is a divine person of the same character as the heroine elsewhere known as Ino-Leukothea can hardly be doubted. It is not a question merely of stressing the alternative names Leukothea for Hemithea in the Tenes story as given by Schol. *Il. I.* 38, and Eustathius, p. 33, 23. For Farnell is clearly right in detecting in this divine pair of mother and son, each with alternative names, one Greek and one un-Greek, the survival from pre-Hellenic religion of divinities whose worship the Greeks adopted.<sup>7</sup> Characteristic are the hieratic legends connected with the cult of a leap from the cliff into the sea, or the exposure of mother and son in a floating chest. To this category belongs the heroine worshipped as Hemithea in Carian Kastabos, a mantic healing cult operating by incubation which continued to enjoy a considerable vogue in the Graeco-Roman world of late classical times.<sup>8</sup> Its legend contains the leap from the cliff, as does that of the Rhodian Halia-Leukothea, who was made into a sister of the Telchines in the late reconstructed version of Rhodian pre-history.<sup>9</sup> Similar figures in Crete, Delos, and the southern Sporades attest the distribution of this type of cult in the Aegean Islands and on the Carian coast. It may therefore well have existed in Tenedos before the Greeks came there.

We cannot, therefore, deny the possibility of the existence in Tenedos of the worship of a heroine, who was named by the Greeks Hemithea, in association with Palaimon, though the evidence, as we have it, suggests that here, as at the Isthmus of Corinth, local interest centred upon the son and the mother was a secondary figure.

<sup>1</sup> Head, *op. cit.* p. 673.

<sup>2</sup> Cook, *Zeus II.*, p. 670.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell, *Hero Cults*, pp. 42 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon III.*, 1257.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias II. 2, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>7</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-47.

<sup>8</sup> Diodorus V. 63.

<sup>9</sup> Diodorus V. 55.

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But this Hemithea, it will at once be observed, has nothing *per se* to do with Tenes. Further, if we look at the first part of our story, we shall see that it presents some curious features. Tenes is believed by his father to have committed adultery with his stepmother, and is exposed in a chest. But why should Hemithea have been so treated merely because she believed in her brother's innocence? Nor do I know of a parallel in legend where an adult brother and sister are similarly jointly exposed on account of the crime of one. Further, in Greek mythology exposure in the floating chest is elsewhere invariably the result of a father's anger at his unmarried daughter's bearing of a child to a god, and the typical persons of such legends are not two adults nor brother and sister, but mother and infant, Danae and Perseus, Auge and Telephos,<sup>1</sup> Semele and Dionysos.<sup>2</sup>

I believe that Pfister<sup>3</sup> is so far correct in thinking that the story of Tenes is a 'translation legend.' Tenes is really an abstraction, the eponym of Tenedos. But since, as we saw, the Greeks assumed that the Greek name Leukophrys was primary and had been changed to Tenedos, it was obviously necessary to bring Tenes, from whom, according to them, the new name was derived, to the island from outside. He is consequently given a suitably neighbouring origin upon the adjacent mainland, and to account for the motive of his arrival use is made of the *Potiphar's Wife* tale, which is one of the stock instruments of the storyteller for starting a young and virtuous hero upon his required travels.<sup>4</sup> For the means of miraculous transport recourse is made to a rather clumsy adaptation of Hemithea's chest.

I am inclined to think that the advent of Tenes, itself an artificial action, is the original kernel to which the further adventures of Kyknos and the death of Tenes were later added. How early the advent of Tenes became received doctrine we have unfortunately no means of knowing, and hence we are not really in a position to form a sound opinion as to the precise relationship between the story and the mysterious Janiform heads on the Tenedian coinage, which begins about 550 B.C.<sup>5</sup> In view of the wild theories which have been put forward about these coins, it may be as well to notice that 'such heads are not peculiar to Tenedos and their explanation is difficult.'<sup>6</sup> In fact, we have no means of knowing what actually they represent. Guesses have been various—Dionysos and Ariadne, Zeus and Hera, Tenes and Hemithea. The last view, that of Eckhel, is not impossible, but there would be more to be said for it, if the evidence for the prominence of Hemithea in Tenedian cult were stronger than it is. As matters stand, it seems to me more probable that the remarkable but quite independent coin types were later brought into relation with the advent of the eponym and his sister Hemithea.

The reverse of Tenedian coins bore an upright double axe, which in some of the series stands apparently between two pillars. In spite of Ridgeway's contention that the axes represent traces of a primitive axe currency, it is almost certain that the design points to a survival in Tenedian cult of the sacred double axe of the Bronze Age. Nor in view of the Carian analogy, the cult of the Zeus Labraundeus, is such a survival geographically improbable. The precise significance of the double axe in Aegean cult is a difficult matter, into which we need not here go at length. I confess that the bisexual axe of which the Janiform head is an anthropomorphic version seems to me an improbable flight of fancy which is not very helpful, and I may here record my complete agreement with Nilsson<sup>7</sup> that the Cretan double axe more

<sup>1</sup> Strabo XIII. 615; Pausanias VIII. 49.

Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, II., pp. 120 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias III. 24, 3.

<sup>5</sup> The series of designs is well illustrated by Dr. Cook, *op. cit.*, Figs. 583-596, pp. 654-658.

<sup>3</sup> Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, I., p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> Head, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

<sup>4</sup> The incident is as old as the oldest known folktale, the Egyptian *Two Brothers*. For a recent note on its distribution see Penzer-

<sup>7</sup> Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 15-16.

probably acquired its religious significance from its original use as an instrument of sacrifice than as the weapon of a thunder god. The latter and current view rests solely upon deductions from analogies which are probably false, and derives little support from an unbiased study of the cult scenes upon Aegean objects of art. But however that may be, I should agree with Dr. Cook and others that our coins may be held to testify to the existence of a sacred axe in Tenedos. The Tenedians used the axe as their badge, and their ancient dedications at Delphi took this form. 'Tenedian axe' became a proverb for hasty or dramatic action.

Now I can find no trace of any original connexion between Tenes and the axe. There is none in *the advent of Tenes*. But there is a noticeable and very intelligible tendency as time went on to bring every Tenedian peculiarly into relation with the eponym. The view that as regards the axes this relation is secondary is supported by the fact that alternative *aitia* were current. Thus while Pausanias tells the story of Tenes in connexion with the Delphian dedication, Plutarch has quite a different explanation. The company in *de Pyth. orac.* 12, 399 F., admire the bronze palm with frogs and watersnakes round its roots, which was then still to be seen in the Treasury of the Corinthians, but the question arises as to its appropriateness; for Corinth is not in fact remarkable for palm-trees or frogs and is not marshy. The dedication, therefore, is not easily explicable like that of the canting parsley from Selinus or the axes dedicated by the men of Tenedos, 'because of the crabs found round the place which they call Asterion, the only ones, it appears, with the brand of an axe on the shell.' I have summarized the context to make it clear that in Plutarch there is no hint nor suggestion of any magical or religious character attaching to these crabs. In consequence the pertinence of the highly-speculative pages (663-667) which Dr Cook devotes to Cabiric crabs, Seriphian lobsters and Zeus *Osogōa* may legitimately be questioned.

As regards the coin types and the proverb 'Tenedian axe,' the explanation given in Aristotle's *Constitution of the Tenedians* can be recovered from Stephanus Byzantinus and Herakleides Ponticus. A certain king had once ruled Tenedos, who put his son to death under his own law that adulterers must be slain with an axe. This event was commemorated on the coins which represent the king on one side and the king and his son on the other, the female head being here misinterpreted as that of a beardless youth. In Aristotle Tenes does not figure in the story, but in the lexicographers and paroemiographers on *Tēnēdōs ἔννήγοος* 'a certain king' has become Tenes, thanks no doubt to the tendency, already noticed, to connect all Tenedian memorabilia with the eponym. Here again we may notice that the suggestion of Dr. Cook that some half-forgotten ritual of rending a member of the royal family in pieces may underlie 'the later rationalized and romanticized legend'<sup>1</sup> is a gratuitous flight of imagination. It is surely more probable that it is an artificial *aitia* of the coin type and proverb, which belongs to the same genre as, if it is not directly adapted from, the story of Zaleukos and his son, who was convicted under his father's adultery law.<sup>2</sup>

An alternative *aitia* made Tenes the king of Tenedos, who caused an executioner with an uplifted axe to stand behind the parties pleading in order to exercise summary punishment upon those convicted of perjury. This story first occurs in the lexicographers on *Tēnēdōs ἄνθρωπος* and *Tēnēdōs ἔννήγοος*, but Robert<sup>3</sup> may be right in detecting an allusion to it in the passage of Euripides' *Telephos* (Frag. 706) which is parodied in the *Acharnians*.

<sup>1</sup> Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 668.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max. VI. 4, 3; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*

XIII. 24.

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'Αγάμεμνον, οὐδ' εἰ πέλεκυν ἐν χεροῖς ἔχων  
μέλλοι τις εἰς τράχηλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐμόν,  
συγήσσωμαι δίκαια γ' ἀντεπεῖν ἔχων.

If Euripides knew the story, it was evidently well established, though not necessarily with Tenes as the hero, in the fifth century; on the other hand, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the passage in Euripides may have suggested the form of the story.

The proverbial axe was also explained by the version of the *further adventures of Kyknos*, which I have labelled A. The alternative explanation of the axe given by Aristotle and the omission of any of the *further adventures of Kyknos* in Herakleides make it probable that the *Constitution of the Tenedians* contained only the *advent of Tenes*. The hewing of the hawser occurs in Pausanias and Konon and may have formed part of the plot of the pseudo-Euripidean play.<sup>1</sup> It is in any case a poor story in itself, and it supplies a most feeble explanation of the proverb.

The variant B which carries Kyknos to Tenedos and reconciles him with his children occurs only in the Scholiast on Lykophron and, by implication, in the version followed in the text of Lykophron.

Neither Apollodorus, Diodorus, nor Plutarch bring Kyknos to Tenedos, and the whole section has the appearance of a subsequent addition to the *advent of Tenes*.

Coming finally to the death of Tenes at the hand of Achilles, we have two versions which I have called X and Y; both seem to be artificial additions. The version X occurs in Pausanias, Diodorus, and Apollodorus' *Epitome*, the last a fact which strengthens the view, which Bethe expressed before the *Epitome* had been published,<sup>2</sup> that Diodorus was here drawing upon Apollodorus. X evidently represents sound Peripatetic tradition, but, for all that, the story of how Tenes tried to keep off the Greeks with stones and was slain by Achilles in defence of the island must surely be modelled upon the killing of Kyknos by Achilles, a famous epic theme which Aeschylus used for tragedy.<sup>3</sup>

But if X is suspect<sup>4</sup> it is patently a Hellenistic *ἐρωτικὸν πάθημα*, as I had marked it down before<sup>5</sup> I discovered the welcome confirmation of Robert's opinion.<sup>4</sup> It occurs only in Plutarch<sup>6</sup> and in the Scholia on Lykophron. The text of Lykophron is not explicit, beyond the statement that both children and their father were killed by Achilles. Robert further points out that our story is probably modelled upon the epic incident of the pursuit of Polyxena and the death of Troilos. The episode of the forgetful slave, which occurs first in the version of Lykophron, is again a stock cliché with those later writers who served up epic matter with fresh trimmings. *ἔδόθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἥρωών μνήμονες*. Thus Asklepiades Myrleanus told how Chalkon had been appointed *mēmēton* to Antilochus by Nestor, Timolaos of Macedon how Achilles had attached Eudoros to Patroklos, Antipater of Akanthos how Dares failed Hector in this capacity, and Eresios how Protesilaos should have been warned by Thessalian Dardanos.<sup>5</sup>

My own view of the Tenes story is briefly this. The hero is merely an eponym, the story of his advent to Tenedos is an artificial invention *ad hoc*, and his association with Hemitheia is an accident due to the way in which the exigencies of the required plot were met. When the story was invented there is no means of knowing. It is not necessarily older than the fifth century B.C. I suspect that the coin types existed

<sup>1</sup> See Preller-Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Bethe, 'Untersuchungen zu Diodor's Inselbuch,' *Hermes* XXIV. (1889), pp. 429 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Κύκνος ποιῶ καὶ Μέμονας κωδωνοφαλαρόπτώλους, Aristoph. *Frogs* 963. For the story of the slaying of Kyknos see references of Engel-

mann in Roscher, *Lexikon* II., pp. 1695-7 s.v. Kyknos (2) and Preller-Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 1119 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Preller-Robert, *Heldensage*, p. 1121, 'nach einer jüngeren, wohl hellenistischen Sage.'

<sup>5</sup> Eustathius, *Odyssey*, 1697, 54.

before the Tenes story, and that if there is any true relation between them, it was the coins which influenced the story not vice versa.<sup>1</sup> It was the coins and the axe of cult, the existence of which they probably attest, which give rise to the connexion of Tenedos with axes. The association of Tenes with axes appears to me purely secondary and due to the desire to connect the eponym with the Tenedian badge. The 'cutting the hawser' story may date back to the end of the fifth century. At best it is a feeble and artificial *aition*.

The Aristotelian *Constitution of the Tenedians* certainly contained the *advent of Tenes*, including the taboo on flute-players. That it carried the story further I doubt. Subsequently two main streams of tradition may possibly be distinguished. The one for which the channel may have been Apollodorus' *Catalogue* is represented by Pausanias, Diodorus, and Apollodorus' *Epitome*. Here Pausanias has the 'cutting the hawser' omitted by the other two, and Diodorus alone has the taboo on the name of Achilles. The other is represented by Plutarch and the Scholia on Lykophron. Here the Peripatetic tradition has been supplemented or adulterated from some romantic Hellenistic source. The Scholia on Lykophron contain version B of the further adventures of Kyknos which are omitted by Plutarch. Plutarch, like Diodorus, has both taboos.

The details of this reconstruction of the history of the story are inevitably hypothetical and cannot pretend to finality, but the general character of the Tenes stories has, I hope, been sufficiently established. Unless I am mistaken, they have no evidential value whatever in the discussion of broad questions of Greek religious origins or of the nature of Greek religious beliefs. If that is so, it may save some futile discussion and wasted labour to establish the fact.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert (*op. cit.*, p. 386) implies that the legend was invented to explain the coin type. It is at least possible that the female head

pointed the convenience of Hemithea's chest, and assisted in the association of Tenes and Hemithea.

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## THE HYMN TO HERMES.

313 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὰ ἔκαστα διαρρήδην ἐρέεινον  
Ἐρμῆς τ' οἰοπόλος καὶ Δητοῦς ἀγλαὸς νῖδος  
ἀμφὶς θυμὸν ἔχοντες· ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωρὴν  
οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐπὶ βονοῖν ἐλάζυτο κύδιμον Ἐρμῆν  
αὐτὰρ ὁ τέχνησιν τε καὶ αἰμνίουσι λόγουσιν  
ἡθελεν ἔξαπατάν Κυλλήνιος Ἀργυρότοξον·

So far as I am aware no editor and no critic has ever questioned the integrity of the four opening words of 313 as they stand above. So written they are seriously misleading. Let them be arranged as three,

αὐτὰρ ἐπειτα ἔκαστα,

and we have the sentence as the author of the Hymn surely wrote it (Mosc.), whatever support may be found elsewhere for the article before *ἔκαστα*.

It is a manifest error to suppose the whole of the above quotation, or indeed any part of it, is a subordinate sentence of time either to 320 ἐστιμένως δὴ ἐπειτα with an epanalepsis αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ, 319, as S. and A. maintain, or, as Gemoll would have it, with a comma after *ἐρέεινον*, to 314. S. and A. in trying to confute Gemoll forget that *ἐπεὶ* *ἐρέεινον* and *ἐτεὶ εὑρεν* are not similar or parallel in time. In this respect 'were questioning' is not in unison with 'had found.'

With regard to *τὰ ἔκαστα* the article has little extraneous support, as will be seen from my remarks on μ 16 in *Homerica*, p. 200. The combination is more than doubtful in every instance.

Here *ἐτειτα* is absolutely necessary; for the passage clearly is intended to tell us what occurred after the incident described in 293 to 312. What did occur? If *ἐρέεινον* be right, Hermes and Apollo investigate the case; but as a matter of fact they do not. Apollo undoubtedly wishes to do so; Hermes wishes to prevent him. Therefore the objection to *ἐρέεινον* holds good, and Schneidewin's *ἐρίδαινον* is probably right. The situation became a wrangle, a battle of words: Apollo is completely baffled by Hermes, and the wordy war ends some considerable time before the two reach Olympus (319-321). I do not agree with S. and A.'s opinion that *ἐρίδαινον* 'does not suit διαρρήδην.' They seem to have reached this conclusion from a hasty inspection of Liddell and Scott on διαρρήδην 'expressly, distinctly, explicitly, Lat. *nominatim*.' Now a brief consideration is sufficient to enable anyone to discern that 'outspokenly' is the exact and primary sense of the adverb, and precisely what is here required. All the other meanings naturally follow. No other adverb under the circumstances could serve *ἐρίδαινον* so efficiently. The disputants in this scolding match keep nothing back. They express their opinions of one another without reservation. On the other hand διαρρήδην *ἐρέεινον* means little or nothing except perhaps that they do not get angry, which, of course, they do (ἀμφὶς θυμὸν ἔχοντες). Διαρρήδην suggests the calm of a judicial inquiry.

Matthiae alone has come near to the true interpretation of *οἰοπόλος* (314). Here, however, it is not exactly 'dwelling alone,' 'einsam lebend,' of a thief; as a matter of fact he does not dwell alone, but he certainly goes about alone (*πολεῖ*, *πολεῖει*), greatly to his mother's annoyance, flatly declining *κατὰ δῶμα ἄντρῳ* ἐν ἡρόεντι θαυμασμένει. In the early epic *οἰοπόλος* means undoubtedly 'lonely,' N 473

χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ P 53, T 376, Ω 614, λ 574. The association of the word in these passages with ὄvis, *ovis*, is an exploded freak of early etymology, whether adopted by later usage or not. Here Apollo, the *pastor ab Amphryso*, would more properly be the 'sheep-tender,' for he bestows this privilege or prerogative on Hermes later on (570 sqq.). The only other instance of οἰοπόλος in this sense seems to be found in Coluthus, a poet of Lycopolis in the Thebaid (Egypt), who lived in the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era. He uses it of Apollo; but even if he had applied the epithet to Hermes, what support would his usage give here? None.

In the next clause, ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωρήν . . . 'Ερμῆν, there is no gain in Mr. Allen's φωρήν (after Goodwin and Tyrrell) for the traditional φωνήν. A νημερτής φωρή is little better than an absurdity. Mr. Allen himself offers the alternative of a lacuna—'lacuna fortasse statuenda servato φωνήν.' This is only tolerable as a last resource. Many years ago in a review of Monro's *Homer*, 1896, I suggested οὐ χάδεν (έχαδ') ὡς for οὐκ ἀδίκως, and this or κάτεχ' ὡς is grammatically satisfactory, but fails to convey a correct impression of Apollo's part in the dispute which was going on between the two divinities. He could not be saying that he was 'taking' Hermes, nor would the poet find it necessary to say so after 293, etc. It follows that ἐλάζυτο is erroneous. I suggest, therefore, that we should read,

ὅ μὲν νημερτέα φωνή  
οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐπὶ βούνῳ ὄνοτάξετο κύδιμον 'Ερμῆν.

Βούν' ὁν- having become βουσίν, the unintelligible ὄταξετο must have been corrected into ἐλάζετο. But in any case the appropriateness of ὄνοτάξετο (cf. v. 30) is undeniable. Again νημερτέα φωνῶν might be read, but is hardly necessary. In later Greek ἐπὶ βούς, 'so far as concerns,' might stand (cf. Soph. *Antig.* 889), but there seems to be no instance of this usage in the early epic.

The final couplet of our passage has two doubtful elements, τέχνησιν and ἔξαπατᾶν, to which might be added λόγουσιν and Κυλλήνιος. My suggestion is that the poet wrote more correctly,

ἀντάρ ὁ τεχνήσιν καὶ αἰμαλίσιοι ἐπεστοι  
ἡθελεν ἔξαπατῆσαι 'Απόλλων' ἀργυρότοξον.

The plural of τέχνη appears in the early epic, but only in the concrete and material sense, *artificiosa opera*, cf. θ 327,

τέχνας εἰσορόσωι πολύφρονος 'Ηφαίστου (id. 332),

where τέχνας alone is the same as the δεσμοὶ τεχνήστες of 296-7. 'Ἐξαπατῆσαι for ἔξαπατᾶν is clearly the tense here required, and after 325, followed by ὁ μὲν and ὁ δέ, there is no call whatever for Κυλλήνιος. There is, of course, a strong temptation here for an enterprising rhapsodist to change the proper name which vocally might be either nominative or accusative into an unmistakable nominative. I may refer to *Hymn. Apoll.* 177 (*Class. Rev.* XXXII., pp. 144 sq.), where this same restoration 'Απόλλων' ἀργυρότοξον has been made on good grounds quite unconcerned with the present passage. Compare also 522 of this Hymn to Hermes.

324 κεῖθι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα,

'For there the court-fees were (usually) paid by both litigants.' This humorous statement, transferring to the tip (*répthon*) of Olympus the preliminary forms of legal procedure below (cf. Σ 507 sq.), is perfectly general, and does not commit the poet to the statement that Apollo and Hermes actually made the deposit. This view seems far better than the usual idea that the author is merely telling us where the scales used by Zeus in the *Iliad* as a sky-sign were to be found when not in use. There is nothing interesting in that piece of information.

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The two following lines stand thus (S. and A. and *Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*):

εύμιλίη δ' ἔχ' Ολυμπον ἀγάννιφον, ἀθανάτοι δὲ  
ἀφθιτοὶ ἡγερέθοντο μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἥδι.

The opening word has occasioned a lengthy list of corrections. Mr. Allen mentions thirteen. They are too numerous to discuss here. Of the MSS. M has εύμιλή, the rest εύμιλίη, *voces nihil*. The only conjecture in my opinion that does justice to the changing scene is that of d'Orville, στωμυλίη. There was tittle-tattle and gossiping all over Olympus. Hermes and his achievements became, as we say, 'the talk of the town.' The sole objection to this reading is palaeographic. It is too great a departure from the MSS. Two replies may be made to this. Firstly, palaeography is not always to be preferred to reason and common sense. Secondly, the graphic difficulty is in this case much less serious than it seems. If we consider the uncial writing of στ and ει, CT is not, save for the central line of the epsilon, very far from ΕΥ, and the long ω was for several centuries represented by ο. Accordingly

στωμυλίη might become εύμιλίη.

In this last ο would certainly be removed as worse than useless, leaving behind it, however, a distinct trace of its former presence in the change of υ to ι in M (-ομυλη to -ομιλη). With this last word Mr. Allen in a note on the passage is inclined to connect εύμιλίη, in spite of the quantity of the ι of διμιλος and of the tautology with ἡγερέθοντο in the next line. Perhaps the most unfortunate suggestion of all is εύκριλή, which sets metre at defiance. If ει- is to be maintained at all costs, as good a suggestion as any would be εύμενή, cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* XII. 4:

ἴλαος ἀθανάτων ἀνδρῶν τε σὸν εύμενίᾳ. . . .

The true solution, however, is d'Orville's στωμυλίη as shown above.

In the next line the climax of absurdity is reached, nor can the poet be held responsible for this result. Groddeck's ἀθροοι for ἀφθιτοι is undoubtedly an improvement. The appearance of ἀφθιτοι, redundant or worse ('without loss of life'), probably results from the idea that it would be undignified for the gods to come 'in a crowd.' The author of the Hymn should be allowed a little quite inoffensive humour, and ἀθροοι, or rather ἀκριτοι, should be read. The latter more readily suggests the useless ἀφθιτοι, and is found twice in this Hymn, 126 and 577, also XIX. 26. 'In great numbers' or 'in a continuous stream' would be the sense.

The MSS. give but poor support to μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἥδι (E in text, marg. γρ. LP), Allen. There is no passage in the early epic except this, in which the accusative of ἥδις cannot be scanned as a dactyl. The epithet χρυσόθρονος is only applicable to the goddess Eos or, as the Romans called her, Aurora; and the words would imply that all the gods and goddesses followed in the train of a minor divinity. There could hardly be a more absurd breach of celestial etiquette. The reading of the rest of the MSS. ποτὶ πτύχας Οὐλύμπου cannot be abandoned merely because Olympus is named twice in two lines.

331 φυὴν κήρυκος ἔχοντα.

'In the guise of a herald,' 'with the outline of a herald.' This jest refers to the description in 305-6. The little Hermes is ὑψίζων to the utmost extent. His swaddling-clothes are gathered up and tied, not round his waist, but round his neck, ἀμφ' ὤμοιστ.

334 ἦ τάχα μῦθον ἀκούστεαι οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν.

If ἀλαπαδνόν be right here, it must be used as a familiar colloquial metaphor, and Apollo means to say that he has what we might call a 'tall' story to tell. There is no evidence in support of this, and it may be that οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον should be read 'no

tale of helplessness,' but one of guile and cunning, showing how Hermes helped himself.

- 336 παιδά τιν' εῖδρον τόνδε διαπρύσιον κεραιστήν  
Κυλλήνης ἐν δρεσσι πολὺν διὰ χώρων ἀνύστας  
κέρτομον, οἷον ἐγώ γε θεῶν οὐκ ἄλλον ὅπωπα.

The transposition of 336 and 337 seems desirable. I take it that διαπρύσιον κεραιστήν means 'a downright, out-and-out, plunderer' (*διαπρύό*). This is not the same as Baumeister's *omnia perforantem*, a sort of burglar. Apollo says that Hermes is a thorough thief, every inch of him. The great difficulty of the passage is 338, which naturally should follow immediately after 336. Here there is some corruption. Certainly *κέρτομον* cannot be accepted as correct. The *κέρτομέων* of 335 renders it impossible. It would make Apollo calmly remark that the accused was as bad as the president of the court. We must necessarily disallow this epithet; and if we ask ourselves, not whence it came—that is obvious enough—but why it was admitted here at all, the answer can only be, because it was thought desirable to mitigate some adjective in a high degree offensive to the worshippers of Hermes. They were numerous enough and enthusiastic enough, as we all know, at Athens. It seems to me that the missing word in all probability was *κύντατον*, 'a most shameless young dog,' as we might express it, quite easy to justify from Homer, but hardly acceptable or even tolerable to the pious or fanatical audiences of later days.

- 342 εἴθιν Πύλονδε ἐλάων· τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἵχνα δοιὰ πέλωρα  
οἰα τ' ἀγάσσασθαι καὶ ἀγανοῦ δαίμονος ἔργα.

These lines are in many respects unsatisfactory. There is some difficulty in understanding how Hermes could drive his booty along the seashore from Pieria straight to Pylos. But let that pass, and let us briefly notice the linguistic flaws. *εἴθιν* is a form unknown to the early epic, which admits only *ιθύς* and possibly *ιθύ*. Then there comes *ἐλάων*, formally correct, but objectionable if not inadmissible after *ἐλαύνων* (340) in the same sentence. With a little variation the phrase recurs in 355:

εἰς Πύλον εἴθιν ἐλῶντα βοῶν γένος εὐρυμετάπων.

The next clause is doubtful both in reading and interpretation. Gemoll and Abel read *τοῖα* after Barnes. But if *τοῖα* be the antecedent to *οἰα*, the *τε* that follows *οἰα* is worse than useless. S. and A. read *δοιὰ* from the MSS., but a considerable number of these (*þ* Allen) have *δῖα*, which may point to *δεινά*, cf. B 321, also E 741, λ 634, κ 168. If *δοιά* be accepted, then the footprints of the oxen are referred to as well as those of Hermes; but Gemoll very reasonably remarks that the footprints of the oxen are not *πέλωρα*. This is no begging of the question as Mr. Allen supposes. The footprints are natural enough, just as those of a man would be who walked backwards, as the oxen were made to do. On the other hand, the tracks of Hermes himself were 'strange monstrosities' (*δεινὰ πέλωρα*). I suggest tentatively,

ιθύν Πύλονδε κιών· τοῦ δ' ἵχνα δεινὰ πέλωρα  
οἰα τ' ἀγάσσασθαι καὶ ἀγανοῦ δαίμονος ἔργα.

For *κιών* cf. 186. Probably *ἥν* will displease some, but it seems to me much better than *ἔργα*, which would be more applicable to the *σάνδαλα* than the *ἵχνα*.

What is meant or whether anything is meant by *ἀγανὸς δαίμων* is a point that cannot be determined. The adjective seems to have been suggested by the preceding *ἀγάσσασθαι*, 'wonderful,' a weakness besetting interpolators.

- 344 τῆτον μὲν γάρ βοσὶν ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα  
ἀντία βῆματ' ἔχοντα κόνις ἀνέφαινε μέλαινα.

Schneidewin suggests a lacuna, the loss of a line before these words. It seems more likely that the opening words have been tampered with in an unsuccessful

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attempt to connect them with the preceding lines, which, as I have shown, do not refer to the tracks of the oxen, but only to those of the purloiner. It is too much to expect any certain recovery of the original opening. Clearly the tradition *τῆσιν μὲν γὰρ βοοῖν* is not early epic. The ethic dative may be admissible as S. and A. remark, and some such opening as,

*πασῆσιν μὲν βοοῖν (δὲ βόεσσιν ?),*

or, preserving the *τ*, *αὐτῆσιν* might be suggested instead of the rather despairing lacuna solution, which is much too readily adopted by editors in distress. In the second line the construction of *ἐσ* would cause no difficulty if the absurd *ἔχουσα* would give place to the necessary *ἄγοντα*,

*ἀντία βίματ' ἄγοντα μέλαιν' ἀνέφανε κονιη.*

The transposition may be regarded as certain (*v. Class. Rev. XXX. 109-10*).

346 αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος τόδι ἐκτὸς ἀμήχανος, οὐτ' ἄρα ποσσὶν.

Attempts to restore this corrupt tradition have been many. The most helpful is perhaps that of Evelyn-White in the Loeb Classical Library, although the result he reached—*αὐτὸς δ' ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ, τις ἀμήχανος*—is extremely unlikely, in fact impossible, as *τις ἀμήχανος* cannot stand for *ἀμήχανός τις*. Still his *ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ* plainly implies that *ὅδι ἐκτός* is the relic of *ὁδοῦ ἐκτός* (*ὁδαῖος*, *ὁ λεπτός* Ludwich. does not suggest this). This, I submit, solves the difficulty of the tradition, and secures a satisfactory reading for the sentence :

οὗτος δ' αὐθ' ὁδοῦ ἐκτὸς, ἀμήχανος, οὐτ' ἄρα ποσσὶν  
οὐτ' ἄρα χερσὶν ἔβαινε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον.

The passage should continue with a change in the punctuation, and the transposition of one misplaced line, for *κέλευθα τοῖα πέλωρα* is merely specious nonsense :

ἀλλ' ἀλληγ τινὰ μῆτιν ἔχων διέτριβε κέλευθα.

(‘with another artifice he continued his long wayfaring’)

δῆρα μὲν οὖν ἐδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον,

ῥέα μάλιστα ἵχνα πάντα διέπρεπεν ἐν κονίσιν

249 τοῖα πέλωρ' ὡς εἴ τις ἀραιγοι δρυσὶ βαίνοι.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κτλ.

T. L. AGAR.

11, CLYDE ROAD, WEST DIDSBURY,  
MANCHESTER.

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## TRIVIALITIES OF GREEK HISTORY.

### I.

THE manuscripts of Pausanias present at III. 16, 4 the following : 'Ιόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πυλὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιτώνος Χείλωνός ἔστιν ἥρφον τοῦ σοφοῦ νομιζομένου καὶ Ἀθηναίων ρῷ τῶν ὄμοι Δωριέων τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδον σταλέντων ἐσ Σικελίαν. By a change euphemistically called an emendation Madvig has replaced Ἀθηναίων ρῷ by Ἀθηνοδόρου, a person unknown to history, whose further acquaintance we will not pursue.

We learn from Herodotus (V. 42-3) that when Anaxandridas died and Cleomenes was chosen his successor ὁ Δωριέως δεινόν τε ποιεύμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι αἰτήσας λέων Σπαρτίτας ἦγε ἐσ ἀποικίν first to Africa and then to Italy. Of whom the λέων consisted we are not told, but it is not particularly probable that the Spartans either had Athenian colonists at their disposal or would locate them in the same ἥρφον as Chilon. Indeed, the dead emigrants, whoever they were, are more likely to have been commemorated by an ἥριον than a ἥρφον, and it is easy to believe that ρῷ is the mutilated remains of that word.

Though there is no direct evidence who the followers of Dorieus were, it may be elicited with some probability from the entry our Stephanus of Byzantium has under 'Ανθάνα : 'Ανθάνα πόλις Λακωνική, μία τῶν ἔκατον. κέκληται δέ, ὡς Φιλοστέφανος, παρὰ "Ανθηνη τὸν Ποσειδῶνος, ὃν Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου ἀδελφὸς ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐκδέρασ έγραψεν τῷ δέρματι τοὺς χρησμὸν δέ τηρεύεσθαι. Meineke has pointed out the absurdity of supposing that Cleomenes, the brother of Leonidas, can have been credited with the flaying of Anthes, the son of Poseidon. Clearly we have a mutilated story of the flaying by Cleomenes of some Athenian, and this would explain why Athenians, feeling as much dissatisfaction with the rule of Cleomenes as Dorieus, should have attached themselves to his expedition. Read therefore in Pausanias 'Ανθηνέων ἥριον τῶν ὄμοι Δωριέων κτλ. and all is plane sailing. The same two mistakes, the omission of ν and the writing of αι for ε, are found in ἀθηνῆται ἔστι for 'Ανθήνη τέ ἔστι at Paus. II. 38, 6.

### II.

A fictitious character has just been removed from the pages of Greek history, a real character may next be reinstated in them.

The word μυθιγται—the orthography with -η-, found in Apollonius' *Lexicon Homericum* s.v. μῦθος, is prescribed by Apollonius Dyscolus π. συνδ. p. 255 Schneider, and Stephanus of Byzantium in Αἴγιναι; the forms μυθηγήσ (\*Schol. Od. φ 71; \*Eustath. 1901, 44), μυθητήσ (\*Et. Mag. 593, 47; \*Et. Gen. ap. Reitzenstein Ind. Rost. II. 15; Choerob. π. δρθογ. ap. Cr. AO II. 169; Cyril. MS. Bodl. Auct. T II. 11), μυθητῆρ (Et. Gud. in Ασκαλωνίτησ) and no doubt μυθητῆρ (Hesych.) are mere spelling mistakes—is explained in several places as meaning στασιῶται or στασιασταί. But a comparison of the four authorities above marked with an asterisk makes it pretty clear that the meaning was in fact much narrower: μυθιγται was the name given by Anacreon to a particular Party—namely, οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἀλιεῖσ οὗτοι who made themselves masters of the island. That μυθιγται was a word

in general use in Ionic as a mere equivalent for *στασιῶται* (*στασιασταῖ*) we have no reason to believe; and consequently, when we learn from Antigonus of Carystus (p. 30 Keller) that ὁ τοῦ Σαμακούσιον ὄρουσ συγγεγραφὼς ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων κληθέντων μυθιητῶν (μαθητῶν cod., μυθητῶν Schneidewin) . . . φῆσιν χελιδόνα λενκὴν φαῆναι, we must recognize the same body of persons as those to whom Anacreon<sup>”</sup> applied the name. The name of their leader was given by the Samian chronicler, and is handed on by Antigonus: ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων κληθέντων μυθιητῶν τὸν περὶ Ἡρόστρατον, and the conjecture by which περὶ Ἐρασιστράτιον is read for τῶν περὶ Ἡρόστρατον may reasonably be supposed to be as bad as any that has ever been made in a Greek text.

E. LOBEL.

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## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

**Classical Philology.** XX. 3. July, 1925.

A. Shewan, *Alliteration and Assonance in Homer*. S. discusses the alternations of vocalic and of consonantal sounds, the employment of alliteration, and the use of particular sounds and syllables for effect in Homer. C. Bonner, *Ornithiaka*. B. considers that Aristophanes, *Birds* 1081, refers to a magical practice among fowlers, and that the bird called πάρδαλος is a species of shrike. A. B. West, *Thucydidean Chronology anterior to the Peloponnesian War*. Thucydides does not reckon by calendar or military years; any given year begins with the anniversary of the event from which the period is dated and ends with the corresponding day of the ensuing year. H. J. Rose, *The Bride of Hades*. The idea underlying Sophocles, *Antigone* 815, and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste. R. G. Kent, *The Oscan Curse of Vibia*. After suggesting restorations K. presents a complete text with a Latin version. W. B. McDaniel regards the Roman *synthesis* as a two-piece suit. P. Shorey emends Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1079 B 2-6, reading δέ ἔστι for οὐδέ ἔστι. J. C. Rolfe ascribes Augustus' description of Horace as a *sextariolus* to the Emperor's fun. A. C. Schlesinger considers that there was no essential connexion between the plays that formed Aeschylus' *Persian* trilogy. H. W. Prescott sees in the meaning of Horace's *Integritate* the influence of Hellenistic epigram. A. S. Pease places the Prometheus myth earlier than the Tityos myth. C. M. Hall compares Catullus 64. 104 to words uttered at High Mass. A. P. Dorjahn considers that Aldus departed oftener than is supposed from satisfactory P-readings.

XXI. 1. January, 1926.

C. D. Buck, *The Language Situation in and about Greece in the Second Millennium B.C.* Evidence for pre-Greek speech is found in documents, place-names, names of gods, and certain words (e.g. *oīvos*) of alien origin; in many cases Anatolian affinities are established. A language possessing the special characteristics of Greek was in existence by *circa* 2000 B.C. Light is shed on the situation in Greece before the 'Doric invasion' (*circa* 1200-1100 B.C.) by Homer and the 'Catalogue of Ships,' and by references from outside sources, Semitic, Egyptian, and Hittite. Probably Helladic III. (from *circa* 1600 B.C.) was Greek, with the Aeolic-Arkadian element predominating. A. S. Pease, *Things without Honour*. An account of ancient *laudationes* of persons or things in themselves trivial or ugly or reprehensible. A connexion may be claimed between such *παιώνια* and the essay. S. E. Stout, *L. Antistius Rusticus*. S. corrects in some important details D. M. Robinson's interpretation of the Latin inscription found in 1924 on the site of Pisidian Antioch. J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in the Panhellenic Leagues II*. Continuing his study, L. finds that the hegemon or king was the head of the executive department. Philip intended the league to be inclusive and permanent. It was superseded by Alexander's divine monarchy, partly because its appeal to Panhellenic patriotism ran counter to his policy of fusing Greek and Asiatic. W. S. Ferguson identifies the constitution of Theramenes with that of the Five Thousand. H. F. Rebert discusses the use and position of *bonum factum* (often abbreviated B.F.) in edicts. W. H. Kirk deals with the Latin verbs of acquisition. In the *Eudemian Ethics* 1247b 6, P. Shorey prefers ἀδηλον (*aītīav*) to the manuscript ἀλογον. H. C. Nutting finds a modal implication not only in the Latin imperfect but also in the present.

XXI. 2. April, 1926.

R. M. Jones, *Posidonius and the Flight of the Mind through the Universe*. The imaginative flight of the mind was a commonplace which need not have been taken from Posidonius. Many passages that have been claimed for Posidonius in Philo, Maximus of Tyre, and other platonizing authors contain non-Posidonian elements. The Epicureans could find the same idea within their own school. G. L. Hendrickson, *Conuicium*. The belief that *conuicium* implies the utterance of a crowd rests upon an ancient etymology, *quasi conuocium*. Ulpian's alternative explanation is the true one, in which he defines its meaning by *concitatione, uociferatione*, a loud and vehement expression of hostile feeling. C. H. Beeson, The 'Lost' MS. of Cicero's *De Amicitia*. B. publishes the results of a re-examination of the Codex Parisinus from photographs supplied by the authorities of the Royal Library, Berlin. They confirm its pre-eminence among the MSS. of *De amicitia*. E. G. Wilkins, *Myōrē "Ayav in Greek and Latin Literature*. W. collects the passages in which the maxim is either definitely cited or clearly implied. It is more frequently applied to emotional states than to conduct in Greek literature before the Roman period. L. Laurand, *Le Fragment du De Amicitia contenu dans le Selestadiensis*. A collation with Reid's text (Cambridge, 1921) of a fragment contained in a MS. belonging to the Municipal Library, Schlestadt. P. R. Coleman-Norton, *The Authorship of the Epistola de Indicis Gentibus et de Bragmanibus*. The objections to ascribing the *Epistola* to Palladius Helenopolitanus can be met; there is no sufficient ground for questioning his claim. M. P. Tilley traces the variant of Homer's story of Ulysses and the Sirens, according to which Ulysses stops his own ears, to Erasmus' imperfect recollection of a passage in Plutarch. A. Shewan contributes a note on Asteris, and P. Shorey suggests three emendations.

**Mnemosyne.** LIV. 1. 1926.

B. A. Van Groningen, *De Octaviani Caesaris ante principatum conditum Imperio*. In the year 32 B.C. the authority of C. was triumviral; this had ceased on the Kalends of Jan. 31. Its place was taken by the 'tumultuary' power provided by the *coniuratio*. Yet C. during the years 31-38 kept the consulship that he might not, if he gave up the 'tumultuary' power, find himself a private individual. C. Brakman, *Ad Vergilii Eclogam Quartam*, argues (1) 'noua progenies' of v. 7 is not the *puer*, but a new and better generation of men justifying 'iam reddit . . . Virgo.' (2) 'Surget gens aurea mundo' will spring up—i.e. in the natural way from the preceding generation. (3) 'Decus hoc aeui . . . inibit=hoc splendens aeuum.' (4) Why the introduction of the heroes? Hesiod made the heroic age the prelude of the iron; so V. in the gradual 'ascent of man' makes a new heroic age the prelude of the golden. B. adds sections on the style of *Ecl.* IV., and on its relation to Hor. *Ep.* XVI., in which he finds Vergilian echoes. Hence *Ecl.* IV. was written first. J. H. Thiel, *De Synoecismo Boeotiae post a. 379 facto*. When the Thebans in 378 had freed themselves they could not capture the Boeotian cities, which were held by Spartan garrisons; but, says Xenophon, ὁ δῆμος ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Θῆβας ἀπεχώρει. Thus began the synoecism of B., which the Thebans carried out by force of arms in 376-5. Plataea Thespiae Orchomenus resisted till 373-2, when Orchomenos was destroyed and the Plataeans fled to Athens. Isocrates 14, 9 says that the Thebans compelled the Thespians and Tanagraeans συντελεῖν εἰς τὰς Θῆβας, using the same expression 15, 38 and 15, 50. It is also found *Hell. Ox.* 11, 3. T. argues συντελεῖν = 'abire in Thebanorum ciuitatem'—i.e. συνουκίζεσθαι. Boeotia became not a league of cities, but a second Attica. C. Brakman contributes *Liuviana* (continued from p. 369) and *Propertiana*; J. C. Naber, *Observatiunculae ad papyros iuridicae* (continued from p. 445). D. Cohen, *Annot. ad auctores et papyros nonnullas*, writes on

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

(1) *P. Tebt.* I. 106; (2) *οἱ ἔξω τάξεων* mentioned in Diod. XVII. 83, 2, and Arrian *Anab.* IV. 22, 5; (3) Alexander's consultation of Zeus Ammon; (4) the fable told of the Greek version of the Pentateuch. D. Cohen, *De Demetrio Phalereo*, in the first of three articles, deals with D.'s career at Athens, using newly discovered papyri. His policy as governor was (1) to rule according to the laws; (2) secure peace, prosperity, and the rights of property; (3) assist the poor. F. Muller, *Ervilis* and *Patruelis*. These words derive their origin from gen. of subs. *erus* and *patruus*. In the former the presence of *ē* preserves the original *i* of *eri*, in the latter the *u* of *patruus* has caused the substitution of *ē* for *i*; cf. *aliēnus*, *laniēna*.

## LIII. 2 and 3. 1926 (Double Number).

A. G. Roos, *De Arriani Periplo*. The work consists of three parts—chaps. 1-11 (a report to Hadrian of A.'s journey from Trapezus to Sebastopol), chaps. 12-16 (a dry recension containing names of places from the Thracian Bosphorus to Trapezus), chaps. 17-25 (an account, very jejune, of the north shore of the Euxine amplified to include Byzantium). The difference between part 1 and parts 2 and 3 has led several scholars to impugn the authenticity of the latter parts, which R. defends. M. M. Assmann writes on *Words denoting Mind or Mental Qualities used by Herodotus in Various Parts of his History*. We find e.g. that *φρήν* appears only in books 1, 3, 7; *ψυχή* in 3, 5, 7. The list is exhaustive. W. A. Baehrens, *De Kynegetico Xenophonteo*, argues against various critics, including Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, that this is an early work of X. The 'sententiae,' especially those in the last two chapters, are characteristic of him. B. concludes with a minute examination of the proem, which reveals nothing inconsistent with Xenophontic authorship. J. W. Bierma, *Quaestiones ad Fabulam Plautinam Menaechmos Pertinentes*. What is the point of vers. 900 sq.? 'Quae me clam ratus sum facere, omnia ea fecit palam | parasitus . . . | meus Ulixes suo qui regi tantum conciuit mali.' | B. sees here no reference to the mythical U., but finds the explanation of 'meus Ulysses' in Athenaeus I. 11, who states that the poet Philoxenus, a courtier of Dionysius, of Syracuse, convicted of corrupting the king's mistress Galatea, was sent to the quarries, and there composed the *Cyclops*, in which the Cyclops represented the king, the nymph Galatea the lady, and Ulysses the poet himself. M. Engers discusses the meaning of *πολιτεύμα* as used in some inscriptions and papyri of a body or 'college' of aliens settled in a place. By a critical examination of *τὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ιονδαλῶν πολιτεύματα* he is led to the conclusion: 'πολιτεύματα are free communities, whether of Greeks or other nations, settled with other inhabitants in the territory of some city.' K. van der Heyde, writing on the *Functions of some Latin Tenses*, illustrates by citations from Plautus the general principle that the *impf.* and *ppf.* differ from the *pres.* and *pf.* in the character of the statement they express. In the *pres.* and *pp.* a fact is indicated by the speaker, by the *impf.* and *ppf.* a fact is recalled from memory. W. E. J. Kuiper, *De Euripidis Helena*, argues (1) that the old woman who acts as *ianitrix* in the Egyptian palace is none other than Theonoe herself, who reports to Helen, as though obtained by divination, the information she has gained by overhearing Menelaus' soliloquy (2) that Helen in the play is not conceived as a prodigy of virtue, but a vain and frivolous woman, who has only preserved her chastity by the interposition of the gods. I. Janssen, *De Fontibus inter se contaminatis apud Liuium* (XXII. 4 sqq.). There were two accounts of the Trasimene battle: (1) The Romans are crushed almost at the first onset; Flaminius perished without glory—so Polybius. (2) Though defeated, the valour of the Roman soldiers and the death of the general was glorious. This account is probably that of Coelius Antipater. S. Korperberg, *De Origine Attali III*. A. can hardly have been son of Eumenes and Stratonic, who were childless for nearly eighteen years after

their marriage. Son probably of Eumenes and a concubine, he was adopted by the childless couple. His title Philometor indicates the affection which existed between him and his adoptive mother Stratonice. A. P. M. Meuwse, *The Greek Version of the Monumentum Ancyranum*, argues that certain peculiarities—asyndeton in particular—and the excessive use of *τε* are not due to the vulgar Greek of the time, but to the composition being a translation from the Latin. There is no ground for the view that the composer was a Roman. J. H. Thiel, *De Nece Vindicanda Iure Gortynio*, argues that the absence of laws regarding the punishment of murder is not due to any portion of our fifth-century inscription having been lost; rather were the murder-laws fixed about the same time as Draco's, and like them were of Delphian provenance. F. Muller discusses the origin of the word *historici* and its evolution, adding a dissertation on the principles of historiography among the ancients. G. Vrind, *Dio Cassius' Histories*. D. read and consulted a number of writers, sometimes basing his narrative on one, sometimes on another, but using the remaining authorities to supplement or correct his excerpts. At times the brevity of the excerpts has led him into error. He neglected geography, military history, and foreign affairs. J. D. Meerwaldt traces in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* a change of attitude towards Deraosthenes, which he thinks corresponds with the growing coolness between Aristotle and Alexander. D. Loenen writes on *Nobility among the Athenians*; M. A. Schepers on *Glycera, Menander's Mistress*; S. Tromp on *Johannes Presbyterus*. H. Smilda, *Varia*. Senec. *Apocoloc.*, c. 6, 'Lugduni natus est (Claudius) Marci municipem uides,' is to be explained by the fact that Lugus, god of Lugdunum = Lat. Mercury. Hence for *Marci* read *Mercuri*. S. also has a note on Cic. *Fam.* VIII. 1, 4, and the significance of Xen. *Anab.* 1. 4. 18 (Euphrates withdraws his current before Cyrus), in the light of Oriental beliefs. There are short notes on Soph. *El.* 772 sq., Cic. *Phil.* II. 34, 87, and 35, 88.

#### Philological Quarterly (Iowa). V. 4. 1926.

E. S. McCartney, *Makeshifts for the Passive of Deponent Verbs in Latin*. 'The need for a substitute form for a passive occasionally resulted in a periphrasis that was both expressive and picturesque, and perhaps contained an additional shade of meaning.'

### LANGUAGE.

#### Glotta. Band XV., Heft. 1/2.

E. Vetter reviews publications on Italic dialects during the years 1922 and 1923. A. Debrunner writes on 'The extended use of the Dual,' and endeavours to explain Homeric *ἴκελσα : ἡγγειλα* from Ionic-Attic. F. Conrad, 'Verse-ending and division of sense in Plautus,' argues that Plautus, in his desire to make the sense terminate with the line, made use of archaisms, new coinages, and other peculiar formations at the end of the verse. J. B. Hofmann writes on the 'so-called polar idiom' (e.g. *οἱ τ' ὄρες οἱ τ' ἀπόρες*), with special reference to Plautus. W. Baehrens regards *sublimen* as having originally meant 'in the direction of the lintel,' thence 'aloft' in general. P. Kretschmer writes on 'Bread and Wine in New Greek'; J. Zingerle on the name of the Lycian god *Kakasbos*, and on *δραγμάτης—δράξων* ( $\Delta \rho \acute{\alpha} \xi \omega \nu$  is the 'swathe-binder,' an agricultural deity). P. Kretschmer discusses 'Mythical Names' (*Kakasbos, Hipta*). R. Blümel connects Homeric *ταρχίων* with Lycian \**tarxu* and *Tarquinius*. The verb would thus mean 'bury in kingly (and un-Greek) fashion.' W. Aly, 'The Language of Herodotus,' endeavours to gain an insight into the inner history of Herodotus' times by means of linguistic evidence.

The vocabulary of Herodotus—particularly the adverbs—is discussed. A list of some 130 words is given which occur only in the later books, written presumably after Herodotus had come under Athenian influence. Th. Birt writes on 'Latin Words.' *Anxia* in the Potestas-inscription is to be connected with ἄξος, and is intended to mean 'unshaven.' Also *Juppiter Anxurus* is the 'unshaven,' i.e. youthful Jupiter. *Vafer* and *faber* were originally identical. *Janitor* meant 'he who is wont to go to the door' (: *ire*). So *praetor* < \**prae-itor*, and *domutio* for *domum itio* (written *domutio*, cf. the variants *guiros* and *gyrus*). *Dens* is participial in formation. *Prandum* < \**pram-dium*, *pram-* being an accusative, the locative corresponding to which is found in *pri-die*. *Odium* not : *odor* but : ὀδόσσομαι; it was originally active in meaning, like *taedium*, *gaudium*; cf. the Italic active infinitive in -um. W. Prellwitz writes on ἄνθρωπος and ἐλίκωπες. Sans. -āñc- corresponds to Greek -ωπ-, -ωπο- meaning 'directed towards,' 'provided with.' ἄνθρωπος means 'the creature with upright gait.' G. N. Hatzidakis contributes notes on κράσις, μότη, βυζίον. E. Täubler regards 'Pamphylia' as being not a Greek but a Grecized name, applied in classical times to two separate regions. O. Immisch writes on *paparium*. M. Leumann on ἀταλός and ἐναρσφόρος. F. Drexel suggests that the *utriclarii* were a fire-brigade. P. Kretschmer argues that the first syllable in Κυδαθήναιον is un-Greek, and denotes 'side.'

#### Indogermanische Forschungen. XLIV. 1. 1926.

With this number there is a new departure in policy, indicated by a change in the sub-title, which now reads, *Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik u. allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*; and in future reviews of new books will appear regularly in *I.F.*, the old *Anzeiger* being discontinued.

P. Meriggi demonstrates by experimental method (kymograph) that sonant nasals can actually be produced (i.e. pure *n*, not *en*), even between two stops (not necessarily alveolar or dental), and, further, that in this case the explosives are enunciated (as Seelmann had foreseen) through the nose, not through the mouth. E. Schwentner, comparing Toch. *yuk* (A dial.) and *yakwe* (B dial.), and Munjāni *yāsp*, Wakhi *yāš* (both dialects of mod. 'Piśāca')—all four words meaning 'horse'—suggests that two words for 'horse' had become merged by conflation already in pro-ethnic I.-Eu., so that in Gr. *ἵππος* the sp. asper would be regular (for original *i*). N. Jokl in a sixty-page article discusses a number of Albanian borrowings from Greek (Macedonian-Gr., Byz., and mod. Gr.)—terms relating to law and government, coinage, religion, popular beliefs, daily life, seamanship, technical terms, etc.—*ragál'* 'cabin, dug-out': Maced. ἀργέλλα (*Suidas*) for \**arg-el-ja*; *šark* 'nut': σάρξ, *mang(e)* 'hemp-brake': μάγγαρον, *ʃ'ije* (-a) 'sacrifice, oblate': εὐλογία (*vloyía*); *K'urk*: κυρικός, *matērgon(ε)*: πανδραγόρας, *simahür* 'compagno d'armi': σύμμαχος, *stom* 'rim, bank': στόμα, and others. J. B. Hofmann (on Lat. *tenus* and adj. in -*tinus*), -*tinus* added to adv. of time or adverbial abl. of time (*diu-tinus*), whence wider extension (*protinus*); for *tenus* (prep. and subst.), cf. Skt. *tánah*. With abl. *qua tenus*, cf. e.g. *qua fini* (in late Lat. *fini=tenus*), whence *hac tenus*, *eatenus*, *Tauro tenus*, etc. N. van Wijk writes on progressive umlaut in Slavonic 'semivowels' (O.Ch.Slav. *bezđěna* for *bezděna*). J. Klef supplements Nehring in *I.F.* 40, 100-7 (Seele als Wasserblasse) and Back, *ib.* 40, 162-7 (*γόνν* : *γένος*). Book reviews. Query: Examples wanted (or information of scientific discussions) of shortening with accent (e.g. *twópence*, *shépherd*) in other languages besides English, Swedish, Latin. Notice: Names and addresses (and intimation of special subject in which interested) invited from scholars wishing to receive offprints, dissertations, etc.

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